



*EDWARD Earle of CLARENDON
Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
& Chancellor of y^e University of Oxford. A.D. 1667.*



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T H E
HISTORY
O F T H E
R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L W A R S
I N
I R E L A N D,
W I T H

The true State and Condition of that Kingdom
before the Year 1640; and the most material Pas-
sages and Actions, which since that Time have con-
tributed to the Calamities it hath undergone.

B E I N G
A VINDICATION of the CONDUCT of JAMES
Duke of ORMOND, during his long and faithful
Adminiftration in *Ireland*.

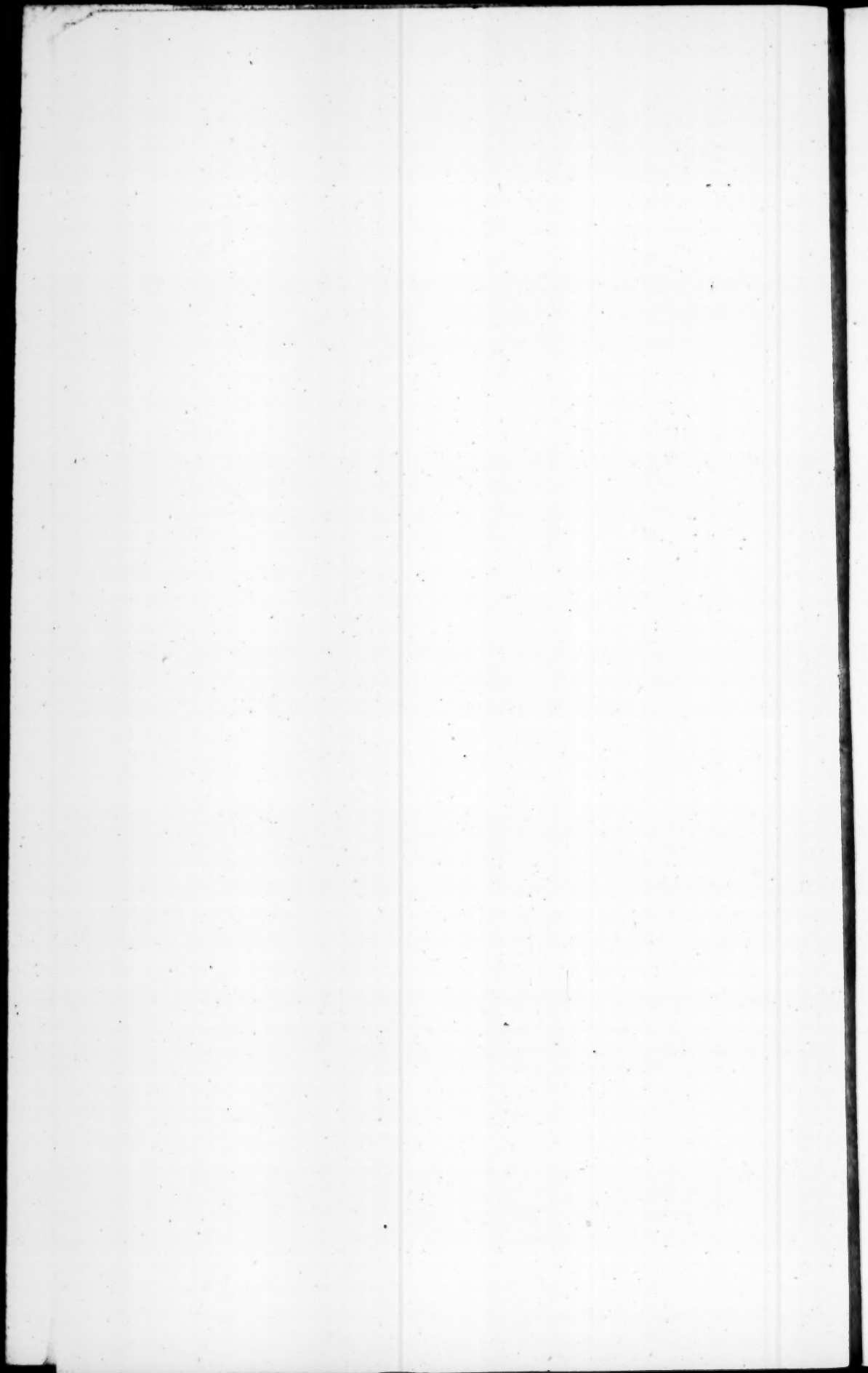
By the Right Honourable
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,
Author of the History of the Grand Rebellion.

To which is added,
An APPENDIX, giving an Account of the feve-
ral Maffacres and Murders committed in *Ireland*,
both by Papifts and Proteftants, fince the 23d of
October, 1641.

The T H I R D E D I T I O N.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster-*
Row. MDCCXL.





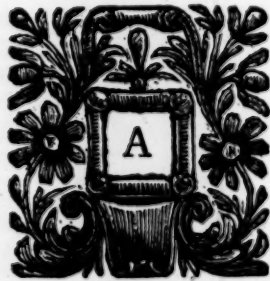
A TESTIMONIAL of the late Archbishop KING concerning the Genuineness of this WORK, as it was written with his own Hand in a Manuscript Copy of it in his Grace's Library, and prefix'd to an Edition of it, printed in DUBLIN, compared with the said Manuscript, and publish'd with his Consent, in his Life-time, viz.

‘ **T**HIS VINDICATION, as I was
‘ inform'd by the late Lord *CLA-*
‘ *RENDON*, was written by his Father
‘ Lord Chancellor *CLARENDON* (if I
‘ remember right) at *COLOGNE*, with
‘ the Assistance of the Duke of *ORMOND*;
‘ and by the Help of Memoirs furnished
‘ by the said Duke; I had it from Captain
‘ *BAXTER* a Servant (I think Steward)
‘ to the Duke of *ORMOND*, in the
‘ Year 1686.

WILL. DUBLIN.



*An ACCOUNT of Dr. Borlase's
History of the execrable Irish Re-
bellion, taken from Dr. Nalson's
Preface to the second Volume of
his Collections; wherein may be
seen the Partiality and Disinge-
nuity of Dr. Borlase, and his un-
fair Dealing with a Copy of my
Lord Clarendon's Manuscript,
which is now faithfully and in-
tirely publish'd.*



S for Dr. Borlase, besides
the Nearness of his
Relation to one of the
Lords Justices, and his
being openly and a-
vowedly a Favourer of
the Faction, and the
Men and Actions of those Times; he is
an Author of such strange Inconsistency,
that his Book is rather a Paradox than
a History; and it must needs be so, for,
I know not by what Accident, the Copy
of

An Account of Dr. Borlase, &c.

‘ of a Manuscript written by the Right
‘ Honourable the late Earl of *Clarendon*
‘ happening to fall into his Hands, he has
‘ very unartfully blended it with his own
‘ rough and unpolished Heap of Matter;
‘ so that his Book looks like a curious
‘ Embroidery sowed with coarse Thread
‘ upon a Piece of Sack-web. And truly
‘ had he no other Crime than of a Plagi-
‘ ary, it is such a Sort of Theft to steal
‘ the Child of another’s Brain, that may
‘ very well render him suspected not to be
‘ overstock’d with Honesty and Justice, so
‘ necessary to the Reputation of an unble-
‘ mish’d Historian; but it is far more un-
‘ pardonable to castrate the lawful Issue
‘ of another Man’s Pen, and thereby dis-
‘ able it from propagating Truth, and to
‘ teach it to speak a Language which the
‘ Parent never intended. And yet this is
‘ the exact Case of *Dr. Borlase’s* History,
‘ in which he has taken great Pains, to
‘ expunge some, and alter many Passages,
‘ which he thought were too poignant a-
‘ gainst his Favourites, or spoke too much
‘ in Vindication of his late Majesty, and
‘ his Ministers.’

N. B. *Dr. Nalson in the 590th Page of
the second Volume of his Collections, quotes
several Pages from the aforesaid Manuscript,
which, as he observes in the Margin, was*
I *then*

An Account of Dr. Borlase, &c.

then in the Custody of his Grace the Duke of Ormond, and written by the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon: And at the End of his Quotation (which begins at the 7th and ends at the 19th Page of the following Vindication,) he thus concludes,

‘ Thus far this excellent Author, whose
‘ Words, tho’ not exactly accommodated
‘ to the Period of Time, I have thought
‘ fit to insert here, because they give the
‘ Reader a Landscape, or short Map of
‘ all the tragical Actions, which filled the
‘ the Scene of *Ireland* with Blood and
‘ Desolation, and will be of excellent Use
‘ to the Understanding of many future
‘ Passages of that and our own miserable
‘ and bleeding Nation.’

N. B. Mr. Wood, in the second Volume of his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Page 595, giving an Account of the Writings of my Lord Clarendon, takes Notice of this Manuscript, as written by his Lordship.



A

VINDICATION

O F

JAMES,

Duke of ORMOND.



WILL speak that I may be The Pre-
face of the
Author.
refreshed, saith the Wisest
 and least faulty of *Job's*
 Friends, when he was
 wearied and tired with
 the Impertinence and In-
 solence of others, *Elo-*
quar ut Respiratio sit mihi, saith our
Latin Translation, I will speak that I
 B may /

may breathe. It is a very great Pain to hear Men speak ignorantly or wickedly, and not to have Liberty to controul or disprove them; no Suffocation can be more unpleasant than such a forc'd Silence; to hear virtuous and worthy Actions declaim'd and inveighed against, and virtuous and worthy Men censur'd, traduc'd and reproach'd for doing what they ought, and by their Duty are oblig'd to do, whilst unlawful and sinful Actions are justify'd, commended, and their Abettors magnify'd and extoll'd; and not to reply to those malicious Discourses: To be forc'd to hear our natural Sovereign (an innocent and pious Prince) slander'd and accus'd with Reproaches, Calumnies, Lyes, and Aspersions, notoriously false, and easily made to appear to be so: To hear God himself prophan'd and blasphem'd, his Omnipotence question'd and slighted, his Justice disputed, and his Anger derided: To hear Murther, Treason, and Rebellion vindicated and maintain'd, as committed and propagated by the Infusion and Direction of his Spirit, his blessed Name invoc'd and challeng'd, for Defence and Support of such a Mass of Wickedness, and not to open a Man's Mouth against the horrid Blasphemy, is not only more Vexation, Grief, and Torment of Mind, but really more sharp, sensible,

sensible, and piercing Pain to the Mind and nobler Parts of a wise and honest Man, than what the outward Limbs are subject to by the Gout, Tooth-ach, or Lask it self. Never Age subjected Man to this Kind of Trouble and Pain more than this present; when, to the Persecution that good Men undergo in the Loss of their Fortunes and Lives, in their Banishment from their Friends, their Families, and their Country, the Wants and Necessities which naturally attend that sad Condition, this Circumstance is added, (a Circumstance which most Persecutions have been without) they are pursu'd with Reproaches of not having done their Parts in resisting the rude Torrent which hath over-borne them (when they bear all the Marks of doing and suffering) oftentimes with Calumnies of a baser Allay, of complying with the publick Enemy, when (next to the Publick) their particular Merit and Virtue have been with the greatest Envy, Malice, and Fury, detested and persecuted by those Enemies, and with such other Scandals and unworthy Aspersions, as may alienate the Affections of the Beholders, and deprive them of that Compassion, Honour and Justice, which is due from all the World to their Courage, Wisdom and Integrity. And this Kind of effeminate Distemper too often rageth in the

A VINDICATION of

Breasts of those, who come, in some Degree, to be just Sufferers with the other in the common Calamities; who have been originally guilty of making those Breaches, at which, greater, or rather other Wickedness hath enter'd, than, it may be, at first was intended, and instead of acknowledging their own Folly and Madness, labour rather to traduce those who hinder them from prevailing, than to oppose the other who prevail'd farther than they desir'd they should have done.

*The Occa-
sion of this
Treatise.*



HERE needs no other Instance, how many more soever may be given, of this petulant and unchristian Humour, than the Licence which hath been, and still is taken by some of the *Romish* Clergy of the *Irish* Nation, (in some printed Pamphlets, whereby they would invite the Christian World to take Compassion on them) to lay Aspersions and unworthy Imputations upon the King, who is in Heaven, who us'd all imaginable Princely Endeavours to have reduc'd and preserv'd them, after they had most rebelliously provok'd him, and upon his Majesty that now is, (whose faithful Subjects they seem to desire to be thought and accounted) and upon the Marquess of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, who (having serv'd their Majesties with the greatest Courage and Magnanimity, and upon the most

most abstracted Considerations of Honour and Conscience, and thereby struck so great a Reverence of his Virtues, even into his Enemies, that tho' they hated and feared him most, yet they have never reproach'd or revil'd him) is now forc'd, by some unquiet and unworthy Spirits of his own Country, to undergo those *Flagella Linguae*, the Strokes of the Tongue, from which only the Omnipotence of Almighty God himself can hide and preserve the most upright and most excellent Persons: And tho' the old Receipt of *Spreta extollas*, may to many seem fit to be apply'd to these odious Ebulitions; and that to take the least Notice of such lewd Discourses, (which flow from no other Fountain but that of Malice and Ignorance) is to do them too much Credit: Yet since the Judgment of the most upright and wisest Men may be corrupted by mistaking the Matter of Fact, and since the titular Bishop of *Ferns* (for it will be no Presumption to say, tho' the Pope may make Bishops, he cannot dispose of Bishopricks within the King of *Great-Britain's* Dominions) hath thought fit to publish a little Book in his own Name, and industriously to disperse the same into all Parts, and among such Persons who can be presumed to know little of the Affairs of *Ireland*, otherways than they are inform'd; and in that Book to lay many Re-

proaches upon his own lawful Sovereign, and most untruly to traduce the Person of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, the Marquess of *Ormond*, (whom his Lordship ought not to Name without Reverence) and in such a Manner, as if he were the Mouth, and spake the Words of the whole Nation: I have not only thought it a Debt to Truth and Justice, but a Respect to that unhappy and oppress'd Nation, (of which very many noble Persons have behav'd themselves with notable Fidelity to their Prince) and even an Act of Charity to the *Roman* Catholick Faith, (which may undergo some Scandal from the Licence and Distemper of such Discourses) to endeavour to preserve the Minds of Men from being wrought upon by those Infusions, and corrupted by those Misinformations.

*The happy
Condition
of Ireland
before the
Year 1640.*

For the better doing thereof, it will be necessary to take a brief View of the true State and Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, before the Year 1640, and of those material Passages which since that Time have, in the Opinion of the Bishop, or in Truth, contributed to the full Calamity which it now undergoes, by which it will be easily discern'd where the Fault hath been, and from whence the Misfortune hath proceeded. In doing whereof, I shall alledge no Matter of Fact, of which there is not unquestionable Evidence,

dence, or make any Deductions or Conclusions which do not naturally result from these Actions, leaving the History of the memorable Acts which have pass'd on either Side, in the Managery of that War, to those who have better Means and Skill to compile the same, having in Truth no other End in this Work, than to vindicate the most just Person from the most unreasonable Calumnies; to undeceive those who are impos'd upon by Untruths, and (if it be possible) yet to incline the Deceivers to those ingenuous and christian Courses which can best advance their own Pretensions and real Interest. It is not the Bishop's calling the ten Years War in *Ireland*, *Sanctum, justissimum Bellum*, or his saying they have undergone the most constant and severe Persecution for the Profession of the Catholick Religion for the Space of thirteen Years, that can make the happy and blessed Condition forgotten, which that Nation was possess'd of before their own unskilful Rage and Fury brought this War upon them. They have now Leisure enough, and I hope Spirits better prepar'd, to value the wonderful Plenty, Peace, and Security they enjoy'd till the Year 1640, when they wantonly and disdainfully flung those Blessings from them. The Increase of Traffick, Improvement of Land, Erection of Buildings, and what-

soever else might be profitable and pleasant to a People, which were Advantages and Ornaments that the Policy and Industry of that Nation was utterly unacquainted with, till they were acquir'd by the Skill and Labour of the *English* planted, and living charitably, friendly, and hospitably among them: Taxes, Tallages, and Contributions were Things hardly known to them by their Names: Whatsoever their Land, Labour or Industry produc'd, was their own, being not only free from Fear of having it taken from them by the King upon any Pretence whatsoever without their own Consent, but also secur'd against Thieves and Robbers, by due Execution of good Laws, that Men might and did travel over all the Parts of the Kingdom with great Sums of Money, unguarded and unconcealed. If this precious State of Affairs be, or was undervalued under the Notion of being but temporal Blessings, and Want of Freedom alledged in the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion to which that Nation was generally addicted, it cannot be denied but (tho' by the Laws and Constitution of that Kingdom, the Power and Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is not in any Degree allowed, or submitted unto) the whole Nation enjoyed an undisturbed Exercise of their Religion, and even in *Dublin* (where the Seat of the King's chief Go-

Governour was) they went as publickly and uninterruptedly to their Devotions, as he went to his: The Bishops, Priests, and all Degrees and Orders of Secular and Regular Clergy, were known to be, and exercise their Functions amongst them; and tho' there were some Laws against them still in Force, which Necessity, and the Wisdom of former Ages had caused to be enacted, to suppress those Acts of Treason and Rebellion which the People frequently fell into, and the Policy of present Times kept unrepealed, to prevent the like Distempers and Designs; yet the Edge of those Laws was so totally rebated by the Clemency and Compassion of the King, that no Man could say he had suffered Prejudice or Disturbance in, or for his Religion, which is another Kind of Indulgence than Subjects professing a Faith contrary to what is established by the Law of the Land can boast of, in any other Kingdom of the World. In this blessed Condition of Peace and Security the *English* and *Irish*, the Protestant and *Roman* Catholick, lived mingled together in all Provinces of the Kingdom, quietly trafficking with one another during the whole happy Reign of King *James*; and from his Death, every Degree of their Happiness was increased and improved under the Government of his late Majesty. As long as they contained themselves within the Bounds
of

A VINDICATION of

of Duty and Allegiance towards him, the Wealth of the Kingdom was exceedingly increased by the Importation of great Store of Money, wonderful Increase of Trade, several new and profitable Manufactories were introduced and erected, whereby the Inhabitants were set on Work, and the Land generally improved, by applying it to several Sorts of good Husbandry which that People had been utterly unacquainted with. The *Roman* Catholick Landlords had Protestant Tenants, and many Protestant Landlords *Roman* Catholick Tenants. Friendships and Marriages were frequently contracted between them, and all Passion, at least, visible Animosities, which flow from the Differences of those Professions, laid aside or suppressed, till in the Year 1640, when they discerned some Distemper arising in *England* upon the *Scots* Invasion, and the Support and Countenance that People found in both Houses of Parliament, they would likewise bear a Part, and bring in their Contribution to the Work in Hand. Then they begun to transplant those Humours of Jealousies and Discontents, which they found springing seditiously in both Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, into *Ireland*, and with the same Passion and Distemper cherished them in the other at *Dublin*. So they accused upon general and unreasonable Imputations, several Counsellors and Ministers of

*The Seeds
of the Civil War in
Ireland.*

JAMES, *Duke of Ormond.*

II

of State which were trusted by the Crown in that Kingdom; and thereby, according to the Rule then unjustly prescrib'd at *Westminster*, removed those Persons from any Power over the Affairs there, whose Wisdom might probably else have prevented the Mischiefs which have since ensued. Then they conspire childishly with the greatest Enemies their Nation or Religion had, against the Life of the late Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, by whose Wisdom and Government that Kingdom had reaped great Advantages, and was daily receiving greater, and sent a Committee from *Dublin* to *Westminster*, to join in Prosecution of him; and having in the End procur'd the miserable (and never to be enough lamented) Ruin of that great Person, they powerfully oppos'd and hinder'd the conferring of that Charge upon any of those his Majesty had design'd it to, and got it devolv'd into such Hands as were most unlike to grapple with the Difficulties they were sure to meet with; and having thus, to their utmost Power, fomented their Divisions in *England*, and discountenanc'd and weaken'd the Royal Power in *Ireland*, by raising the same Faction against it there, on a sudden, upon the 23d of *October*, 1641, without so much as the least Pretence of a Quarrel The Massacre. or Hostility so much as apprehended by

the Protestants, great Multitudes of the *Irish Roman Catholicks* in the Province of *Ulster*, and shortly after in other Provinces and Parts of the Kingdom, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in Arms, seized upon the Towns, Castles, and Houses belonging to the Protestants, which by their Force they could possess themselves of, and with most barbarous Circumstances of Cruelty, within the Space of less than ten Days, murdered an incredible Number of Protestants, Men, Women, and Children promiscuously without Distinction of Age or Sex, of any who were within the Reach of their Power. They who escaped best were robbed of all they had to their very Shirts, and so turned naked to endure the Sharpness of the Season; and by that Means, and for want of Relief, many Thousands of them perished by Hunger and Cold. The Design which at the same Time was laid for the Surprize of the Castle of *Dublin* (the Residence of the King's chief Governour, and his Majesty's principal Magazine of Arms and Ammunition wherewith it was plentifully stored) being discovered by a Person trusted, and thereby disappointed, that Place was left securely to consult of the best Means to oppose that Torrent which was like to overwhelm the Kingdom; and for Refuge of the Protestants, who from all Parts of the Kingdom flocked

flocked thither, dispoiled, robbed and stripped, with the sad Relation of the most inhuman Cruelty and Murders exercised upon their Friends, Kindred and Neighbours, which hath ever been heard of among Christians; and in that Manner, and with these Circumstances, began that War which the Bishop calls Holy.

It is not the Purpose of this Discourse to *The Irish* lay the Imputation of this Rebellion and *not generally concern'd in* savage Cruelty upon all the *Irish* and Catholics of that Kingdom, of whom many *it.* Persons of Honour were never in the least Degree tainted with that Corruption; but on the contrary, have always given as signal Testimonies of their Affections and Duty to the King, and of their Detestation of that odious and bloody Defection as any of his Subjects of either of his Majesty's other Kingdoms have done, whose Memory must with equal Justice and Care be transmitted to Posterity as precious Examples of Honour and Integrity. Others were by the Passion and Rigour of those who were then in Authority, (and had Power enough to destroy whom they had Inclination enough to suspect or accuse) driven to put themselves into the Protection of those whose Ways and Courses they totally disapproved; and many who were by Misinformation and Misbelief engaged in the carrying on, and possibly in the contriving

triving of the War and Insurrection, were Enemies to those Actions of bloody Rapine and Inhumanity which dishonour any War, and grew quickly willing to repair the Breaches they had made, and to return to the Duty which they had violated; but it is neither impertinent nor uncharitable to beseech those of that Nation, whether Clergy or Laity, who in respect of the present Weight of Calamities, under which they are oppressed, being more worthy of Compassion, to remember, that they now continue the War with Innocency and Justice, which they first entered into with extreme Guilt, and prosecuted with extreme and unnecessary Cruelty; and that tho' they now lawfully defend themselves, their Country, and their King, against the worst and most merciless Tyrants, they never had been driven to those Exigencies, or undergone those devouring Afflictions, if they had not first unreasonably and wickedly rebelled against the best and most merciful of Kings; and their bewailing and heartily lamenting that first Transgression, is like to be the most Christian and Catholick Expedient to persuade God Almighty to protect and relieve them in their present Sufferings and intolerable Pressures, and the contrary and most unpracticable Temper, of defending and justifying the War from the Beginning, to be most just and holy; and

and that most horrible Rage and Fury in the Prosecution of it, to be the pious Means of upholding and carrying on that most just and holy War, may probably indispose that Providence from taking any Pity on them, or preserving them from total Extirpation.

One Circumstance of unhappy and impious Policy must not be forgotten, by which the bold Authors of that unnatural War in the first Entrance into it, promised to themselves notable Advantages; and which in Truth (as most of the Policy of that Kind usually is turned to the Ruine of the Politician) brought unspeakable Misery and Devastation upon that whole Country and Nation. For the better inducing the People (who, having lived long in Peace and Amity with the *English*, were not without some Reverence to that Government, and so would not in plain and direct Terms be easily led into a direct Rebellion against their King) they not only declared, and with great Skill and Industry published through the Kingdom, That they took Arms for the King, and Defence of his lawful Prerogative, against the Puritan Parliament of *England*, which, they said, invaded it in many Parts; and that what they did, was by his Majesty's Consent, Approbation and Authority; and to that Purpose produced and shewed a Commission

A foul Stratagem of the Irish.

*The fatal
Consequen-
ces of it.*

mission to which they had fastened an Im-
pression of the Great Seal of *England*,
which they had taken off from some Grant
or Patent which had regularly and legally
past; and so it was not hard to persuade
weak and unexperienc'd Persons, that it
was a true and real Commission from the
King; and by this foul Stratagem, they cast
so odious an Imputation upon the King,
and upon those Persons who were worthily
nearest his Affections and Council (the se-
ditionous Party in *England*, who were then
contriving all the Mischief they have since
brought to pass, using all their Arts to pro-
pagate those horrible Calumnies, and to
infuse into the Hearts of the People an Ir-
reverence and Jealousy of the King, Queen,
and those of nearest Trust to either of
them) that his Majesty was even compelled
for his own Vindication, and lest he might
be thought too faint a Prosecutor of an
Enemy whose Insurrections 'twas said him-
self had fomented, to commit the whole
Management of that War to his two Hou-
ses of Parliament, who again interess'd and
intrusted such Members of their own Body
with the ordering and directing of the same,
as were resolv'd with most Passion, Un-
charitableness and Violence, to prosecute
that whole Nation, and the Religion that
was most generally exercis'd there. Thus
were all the Persons that were to conduct

both

both the Civil and Military Affairs in *Ireland*, drawn to a depending on the two Houses at *Westminster*; all the Officers and Commanders for the War were nominated or approved by them; all Money raised for that Service used and disposed only by their Orders; and by these Means, they, who craftily intended to draw a Support to themselves by using the King's Name to Purposes he abhorr'd, foolishly defrauded and depriv'd themselves of that Protection and Mercy, which his Majesty would willingly have vouchsafed to them for their Reduction and Preservation. For, from this Time, when any Thing was proposed of Extravagancy, or overmuch Rigour, which the Proposers said was necessary for carrying on that War, if the King made any Scruple or Pause in giving his Consent to the same, they streight declared they were obstructed in sending Relief to the poor Protestants of *Ireland*, and then published some particular Relations of the lamentable and inhuman Massacre made there by the *Irish*, which were confirm'd by Multitudes of miserable undone People, who landed from thence in several Places of *England*; who likewise reported the Rebels Discourses, of executing all by the King's Direction: So that indeed it was not in his Power to deny, what they thought fit to say was necessary to the good Work

in hand. Thus he was compelled to put all the strong Holds, Towns, and Castles in *Ulster*, in the Possession of the *Scots*, who were at that Time, by the great Managers, believed to be more worthy to be trusted than the *English*, with unusual Circumstances of Power, and even a Kind of Independance upon the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and when his Majesty desired them to re-consider their own Propositions, and reflect how much it might intrench upon the *English* Interest, they furiously voted, that whosoever advis'd his Majesty to that Delay, was an Enemy to the Kingdom, and a Promoter of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. Thus his Majesty was necessitated to consent to that Bill, by which too great a Latitude is given for the Disposall of Land, in the several Provinces of that Kingdom, to those who had adventur'd Money in the War, which, without the Interposition, Shelter, and Mercy of the Sovereign Power, would give up almost all that whole People and their Fortunes, to the Disposall of their cruel Enemies. And, Lastly, by this accursed and groundless Calumny, thus raised upon the King, the full Power was devolved into their Hands, who too much imitated the Fury and Inhumanity of the *Irish*, in carrying on the War, and proceeded with so much Rigour and Cruelty in shedding of Blood,

as

as was much detested by his Majesty's gracious and merciful Disposition.

But when the Rebellion broke out in *England*, and the King was thereby compell'd to take up Arms for his own Defence, and had seen the Men and Money raised by his Authority for the Relief of *Ireland*, imploy'd by his *English* Rebels against himself, and so his Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom, upon the Matter, deserted, or at least unprovided for, and the Strength and Power of the *Roman Catholics* increasing, and every Day improv'd by Assistance and Aid from abroad; his Majesty believ'd they had made the worst Use of all the Slanders and Reproaches which were rais'd against him, and began to interpose his own Royal Authority a little more than he could formerly do, in the managing the Affairs of *Ireland*, and made such an Alteration in the Government there, by removing one Lord Justice who was most addicted to the *English* Rebels, and most pliable to their Ends, and putting a moderate and discreet Person in the Place, that his Majesty's Honour and Command, and the publick Interest of the Kingdom were more regarded, and the Power which the *English* Parliament had unreasonably assum'd there, less consider'd. His Majesty likewise granted more absolute Power and Jurisdiction in military Affairs to the Mar-

The cruel Prosecution of the War by the Parliament.

C 2

ques

quests of *Ormond*, than he had before, well knowing that he was a Person of the most ancient Honour, and greatest and noblest Fortune within that Kingdom, and of a very signal Affection to the Crown, upon the most abstracted Considerations of Conscience, Duty, and Integrity: So that being of that Nation, and too much concern'd in their Peace and Happiness, to wish an Extirpation of it, he would carry on the War with less unnecessary Severity and Devastation, than had been us'd; which was like to prove the most effectual Way to purge that People from the Despair they had swallow'd, and dispose them to return to their Duty and Allegiance. And it will not be denied, that from this Time, (however the *Irish* were defeated always in Battle, as often as they encounter'd with the Marquess, and such Execution was then taken, as in the Heat and Virulency of those Contentions, cannot be prevented) there was never any foul Act done by the *English*, or greater Rigour us'd than was necessary to the Work in Hand; no Retaliation of former Outrages, but Quarter given when desired; and all Articles consented to by the Marquess or his Officers, punctually observ'd and perform'd to the Nation, and the War, in all Considerations, prosecuted by the same Rules, and with the same Temper, as if it had been against an equal

*The gentle
Methods
taken by his
Majesty.*

equal Enemy, who could have justify'd the entering into it.

And here it must be observ'd, that how cheap soever the Marquess is now grown, as a Soldier and General in War, and how much soever the Bishop is pleased to reproach his Inactivity, during the whole Time that he alone order'd and conducted the War against the *Roman Catholics*, in Behalf of his Majesty, his unwearied Vigilance and Industry, in quick, painful and sudden Marches, his sharp and successful Counsel in Designs, and his constant Courage in the Execution, were very grievous and formidable to them: How many of their Towns, Castles and Forts did he take from them with a Handful of Men? When did they appear before him in the Field, tho' with Numbers much superior to his, that they were not defeated, routed, and disbanded? Let them remember the Battle of *Kilrush*, in April 1642, when being double the Number of the Marquess, they thought without Difficulty to have cut off his Army, which was then tir'd and harass'd with long Marches, and Want of all Kind of Provisions; but, upon the Encounter, the *Irish* were quickly subdu'd, slain, and put to flight, with the Loss of their Baggage and Ammunition. Witness that famous Battle near *Rosse*, when General *Preston* led an Army of above Six Thou-

The Courage and Conduct of the Marquess of Ormond.

The Battle of Kilrush.

The Battle of Rosse.

land Foot, and Eight Hundred Horse against the Marquess, who had not Two Thousand Two Hundred Foot, nor Five Hundred Horse; and where, by the Advantage of Ground, and other Accidents, the *Irish* Horse had routed the *English*, and driven them from the Field: At the Sight whereof the small Body of Foot were even apall'd and dismay'd, when the Marquess put himself in the Head of his shaken Infantry, and by his sole Resolution and Virtue, enflamed them with Shame and Courage, and led them against the proud and insolent Enemy; and after a sharp Encounter and Slaughter of as many as had Courage to make Opposition, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to Boggs and Fastnesses, more terrify'd and confounded with his single Name, than the Power that assisted him.

Whilst the Marquess had Officers and Soldiers that would obey and follow him, he found no Enemy could withstand him; without those, no *Hanibal*, *Scipio*, nor *Cæsar* himself, ever obtain'd Victory. By these continual Successes, the wild Temper of the *Irish* began to be abated; and they who had been carry'd with the popular Stream, without any Power to resist the Torrent, had now Opportunity to revolve what they had done, and the Consequence that must necessarily attend such Transactions: They
thought

thought an humble Address to him whom they had offended to be a more natural Way to Peace and Happiness than the Prosecution of the War, which had been attended with so much Mischief, and accordingly profess a Desire to be admitted to petition the King; in which they found such Encouragement, that, upon the first Declaration, a Commission was sent by his Majesty to the Marquess of *Ormond* and others, to receive any such Petition, which likewise was no sooner transmitted to him, than another Commission under the great Seal of *Ireland* was granted to treat with the *Roman Catholick Irish*, in order to a Cessation of Arms; that so, upon the Intermision of those Acts of Blood and Outrage, and a more charitable Communication of each others Grievances, the Foundation of a happy Peace might be temperately and maturely weigh'd and consider'd: And hereupon the Cessation of Arms was agreed on for the Space of one Year, so much to the Advantage and Benefit of the *Roman Catholicks*.

*The Irish
petition for
a Treaty.*

*ACessation
agreed to.*

What Scandal, Reproach, and real Damage the Marquess underwent by his being charitably inclin'd to that Cessation, and desiring to prevent those Calamities which he wisely foresaw must be the Portion of that Nation, if they did not speedily return to their Allegiance and Loyalty, wise Men knew, who were acquainted

with the Humour and Spirit of that Time, the universal Prejudice the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* had contracted against the *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland*, for the Damage they had sustain'd, and the Rapine and Cruelty which had been perpetrated by the first Authors of the Rebellion, infomuch as a more unpleasing and unpopular Inclination could not be discover'd in any Man, than a Wish or Consent that the War (from which so many promised Revenge and Fortunes) should be any other Way ended, than with the Blood and Confiscation of all whom they could propose to be guilty of the Defection. And if the Marquess hath not found a due Retribution of Thanks and Acknowledgment from the whole Nation, for giving that Opportunity to have made themselves happy (so signally to his own Disadvantage) it must be imputed to the Want of Understanding and Gratitude, in which too many of that People have abounded.

Shortly after the Cessation was made, the confederate *Catholicks* appointed certain Commissioners authoriz'd by them to attend his Majesty at *Oxford*, with such Desires and Propositions, as make too lively a Representation how incompetent Considerers they were of that Way to their own Repose and Happiness; and how unlikely they were to prevent the destroying
Cala-

Calamities that hung over their Heads, and so closely pursu'd them at the same Time. As long as the Treaty lasted, the King was likewise attended by a Committee sent by the Council-Board of that Kingdom, to inform his Majesty of all Matters of Fact which had pass'd, and of the Laws and Customs there, which might be necessary to be well weighed, upon what the *Catholicks* should demand or propose: And by another Committee, who were deputed by a Parliament then sitting at *Dublin*, to solicit his Majesty in behalf of his Majesty's Subjects of that Kingdom; and that nothing might be granted in that Treaty to the Prejudice of their Interest and Security.

The *Catholicks*, as Men which thought themselves possess'd of the whole Strength and Power of the Kingdom, and the King's Condition in *England* so weak, as he would buy their Assistance at any Rate, demanded upon the Matter the total Alteration of Government both in Church and State: The very Form of making and enacting Laws, which is the Foundation of a Government, and which had been practis'd ever since the Reign of *Henry* the VII. must be abolish'd, and instead of Liberty and Toleration of the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion, they insisted upon such Privileges, Immunities, and Power, as would have

The High Demands of the Romanists.

amounted

amounted at least but to a Toleration of the Protestant Religion; and that no longer than they should think fit to consent to it. On the other Hand, the Committee of Parliament, as Men who too much felt the Smart and Anguish of their late Sufferings, and undervalued and contemn'd the *Catholick Irish*, as inferior to them in Courage and Conduct, and as possess'd of much greater Power by the Cessation than they could attain in War, very earnestly press'd the Execution of the Laws in Force, Reparation for the Damage they had sustain'd, and disarming the *Irish* in such Manner, and to such Degrees, as it might not be hereafter in their Power to do more Mischief; and such other Conditions as People, who are able to contend, are not usually persuaded to submit unto, in these so different and distant Applications. They who were sent as moderate Men from the Council, knew not how to behave themselves; but enough discover'd, that they had not the Confidence in the *Irish*, as to be willing they should be so far trusted: That the Performance of their Duty should depend only upon their Affections and Allegiance, but that there should be greater Restraint on them than they were inclin'd to submit to; otherwise, that the Protestant Religion and *English* Interest would be

be sooner rooted out by that Peace they propos'd, than it would be by the War.

It is true, that the Committee for the confederate *Catholicks* demeaned themselves to his Majesty with a great deal of Modesty and Duty, and confess'd they believ'd the Demands they were enjoin'd to insist on, were such as his Majesty could not consent unto; and that the present Condition of his Affairs was not so well understood by them, or by those that sent them, before their coming out of *Ireland*, as it now was; which if it had been, they were confident they should have had such Instructions as would have better comply'd with their own Desires and his Majesty's Occasions; and therefore frankly offer'd to return, and use their utmost Endeavour to incline the confederate Council, whose Deputies they were, and who then exercis'd the supreme Power over the confederate *Catholicks* of *Ireland*, to more Moderation, and to return to their full Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, upon such Conditions as his Goodness would consent unto for their Security.

Hereupon the King sent his Command to the Marquess of *Ormond*, whom he had now made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, to continue and renew their Cessation for another Year; and likewise a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*,
to

The Cessation continu'd.

to make a full Peace with his *Catholick* Subjects, upon such Conditions as he found agreeable to the publick Good and Welfare, and as might produce such a Peace and Union in that Kingdom, that it might assist him for the Vindication of his Royal Power, and suppressing the Rebels in *England* and *Scotland*; and so his Majesty dismiss'd his *Catholick* Commissioners with Demonstration of much Grace and Confidence in them; and with this good Counsel which he most pathetically pour'd out to them at their Departure,

His Majesty's good Advice to the Catholick Commissioners. That they should remember, *That the Preservation of their Nation, and the Religion which they profess'd, and were so zealous for in Ireland, depended upon the Preservation of his just Rights and Authority in England. That they saw his Subjects in Scotland (contrary to all their Obligations) had invaded England, and joyn'd with the Rebels against him, who without that Assistance would have been speedily reduc'd to their Obedience: And therefore, if his Catholick Subjects of Ireland made haste, upon such Conditions as he might then grant, without Prejudice to himself, and which should be amply sufficient for the Security of their Fortunes, Lives, and Exercise of that Religion, to assist him, whereby he might be enabled, by God's Blessing, to suppress that Rebellion, they might confidently believe he would never forget to whose Merits he ow'd his Preservation*

tion and Restauration; and it would then be in his absolute Power to vouchsafe Grace unto them to compleat their Happiness, and which he gave them his Royal Word he would then dispense in such Manner, as should not leave them disappointed of their just and full Expectations; but if, by insisting on such Particulars as he could not in Conscience consent to, and their Conscience oblig'd them not to ask, and on such as though he could himself be content to yield to, yet in that Juncture of Time would bring so great a Damage to him, that all the Supplies that they could give or send, could not countervail, and might as beneficially be granted to them hereafter when he might better do it, if they should delay their joyning with him, and so look on till the Rebels Power prevail'd against him in England and Scotland, and suppress his Party in those Kingdoms; it would then be too late for them to give him Help, and they would quickly find their Strength in Ireland but an imaginary Support for his or their own Interest; and that they who with much Difficulty had destroy'd him, would then without any considerable Opposition, ruin their Interest, and root out their Religion and their Nation from all the Dominions which should be subject to their exorbitant Jurisdiction. How much of this prov'd a Prophecy, their sad Experience knows, and the World cannot but take Notice of it.

When

When the Commissioners return'd into *Ireland*, most of them perform'd their Promise and Engagement to the King very faithfully; and by the Information they gave to the supreme Council, and by their Counsel, Interest, and Advice, they prevail'd so far, that the Nobility, Gentry, and all Men of considerable Fortunes, with such of the Secular and Regular Clergy, who were the most eminent for Piety and Practice of Religious Duties, were convinc'd of the Necessity of submitting themselves entirely to the King, upon such Terms, for the present, as his Majesty had graciously offer'd their Commissioners; and that no Time should be lost in perfecting the Pacification, and in proceeding most effectually towards their assisting the King in *England*: But the evil Genius of that People quickly banish'd this blessed Temper, and manifested to the World how unripe they were for that Blessing. They who valu'd themselves upon their Interest and Dependencies, whose Credit and Reputation had corrupted Multitudes to swerve from their publick Duty to their King, out of their private Devotion and Submission to them, found it now a more easy Matter to prevent and mislead popular Affections, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the Spirits they had conjur'd up, than they could command
the

the Sun or the Winds. The Nobility, and Men of known Fortunes, had lost their Power, and the most factious, ignorant, and violent Part of the Clergy had so much Influence upon the common People, that *The Treaty* they only obey'd their Dictates, and with *ineffectual.* them only oppos'd all those Conclusions, which, according to Wisdom and true Policy, were to be the Ingredients of a happy and lasting Peace; and so above two Years were spent, after the Commissioners departed from the King, in fruitless and ineffectual Treaties, whilst the Strength and Power of the Rebellion in *England* exceedingly increas'd, and his Majesty's Forces were defeated, and himself, for want of the Succour he expected, and which he was promis'd out of *Ireland*, compell'd to *The Ruin* deliver up himself to his *Scottish* Subjects, *of his Ma-* and was shortly after deliver'd by them to *jefty and* the Rebels of *England*, by whom he was *his King-* in the End, with all those Circumstances of Horrour and Barbarity, murder'd in the Sight of the Sun.

After all these unhappy and pernicious Delays, a great Assembly of the confederate Catholicks, which consisted of all the *An Assm-* Peers of that Party, and of all the Gen- *bly of the* tlemen and Burgeses of Corporation *confederate* Towns, (which was as lively a Repre- *Catholicks* sentation of the whole Nation as they *in the Year* could make) towards the End of the Year *1645.*

1645, appointed and authoriz'd a select Number of that Body of the Peers of eminent Quality, and most eminent Ability, and such as throughout all the Troubles had been employ'd and intrusted by them in Places and Offices of highest Trust and Concernment, to treat and conclude with the Marquess of *Ormond* his Majesty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a firm and full Peace; whereupon all the Particulars which might concern the Interest and Security of either Party being maturely weigh'd and consider'd, and every Article being then first read, debated and approv'd in the General Assembly, without one dissenting Voice, the whole was concluded, and the confederate *Catholicks* oblig'd to transport, within a very short Time, an Army of ten thousand Men into *England*, for the Service and Relief of the King; and all Things thus stated and settled, the Commissioners who had treated the Peace were sent by, and in, the Name of the Assembly to *Dublin*, where the Lord Lieutenant resided, to sign the said Articles, and to receive his Lordship's Confirmation of them: And accordingly the Articles were there in the Beginning of the Year 1646, interchangeably sign'd and perfected, with all the Formalities requisite, and shortly after, were with all Solemnity and Ceremony publish'd and proclaim'd

*Appoint
Commissioners for a
new Treaty*

*Articles
Sign'd.*

claim'd by the King at Arms in *Dublin* and at *Kilkenny*, where the supreme Council and the Assembly of all the confederate *Catholicks* were held, and then printed by their publick Authority. The Archbishop of *Firmo*, the Pope's Nuncio with the *Catholicks* in *Ireland*, manifesting his Approbation of all that had been done, and giving his Blessing to the Commissioners when they were sent to *Dublin* to conclude the Treaty; and other Ministers from Foreign Princes being present, consenting to and witnessing the Conclusion: So that the Marquess having perform'd all on his Part that could be expected from him, and was in his Power to do; and having receiv'd from other Parts all the Assurance he could require, there being no other Way of managing the publick Faith of the Nation, than that by which they had formerly engag'd themselves to him, intending nothing but how his Majesty might speedily receive some Fruit of the Peace and Accommodation, by sending some Assistance to him. And to that Purpose, with Advice, and upon Invitation of several Persons who had great Authority and Power amongst the confederate *Catholicks*, he took a Journey The Mar-
quess invi-
ted to Kil- himself to *Kilkenny*, where he was receiv'd with that Respect and Reverence which was due to his Person, and to the Place he held; and with such Expressions of Triumph and

D Joy,

Joy, as gave him cause to believe the People were glad again to be receiv'd into his Majesty's Protection. But this Sun-shine of Hope quickly vanish'd, and a Cloud of Jealousy began again to cover the Land. The Pope's Nuncio, and the titular Bishops which depended on him, envy'd the Nation the Happiness and Glory they foresaw it would be possess'd of by the Execution of that Agreement; and so without any Colour of Authority, either by the old establish'd Laws of that Kingdom, or the Rules they had prescrib'd to themselves since the Rebellion, they convened a Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*, (a Town most at their Devotion) where this titular Bishop of *Fernes* was in the Chair, and resided: And therefore it will not be amiss to take a short View of these Proceedings, that the unhappy, oppress'd, miserable People of *Ireland* may thereby discern to whom they owe those Oppressions they are now overwhelm'd with; and whether that Bishop is to be reckon'd in the Number of those who suffer at present for their Zeal to Religion, their Allegiance to the King, and Affection to their Country: Or, whether his Name is to be inroll'd in the Catalogue which must derive to Posterity the Authors and Fomenters of so odious and causeless a Rebellion, in which such a Sea of Blood hath been let out, and the Destroyers of the

The Consequences of the Treaty obstructed by the Irish Clergy.

the Honour and Faith of the Country and Nation; and who are no less guilty of the Extirpation of Religion in that *Catholick* Kingdom, than *Ireton* or *Cromwel*, or that impious Power under which they have perpetrated all their Acts of Blood, Cruelty, and Desolation.

This Congregation of the Clergy were no sooner assembled, than (instead of pre-<sup>Proceed-
ings of
their As-
sembly at
Water-
ford.</sup>scribing Acts of Charity and Repentance to the People, for the Ills they had formerly done, and then inflaming their Hearts with new Zeal, and infusing pious Courage into them, to relieve and succour the King from those Rebels that oppos'd him, according to their particular Obligation by their late Agreement, which had been the proper Office of Prelates and a Christian Clergy) they began to inveigh against the Peace which themselves had so lately approv'd, and so formally consented to, as if it had not carefully enough provided for the Advancement of Religion; would not suffer it to be proclaim'd at *Waterford*, and sent their Emissaries and their Orders to all considerable Towns and Cities, to incense the People against it, and against those who wished it should take Effect; in so much, that when the King at Arms was proclaiming the Peace at *Lymerick*, with that Solemnity and Ceremony as in such Cases is us'd throughout the World, with his Coat of

Arms, the Ensign of his Office, and accompany'd with the Mayor and Aldermen and most substantial of the Citizens in their Robes, and with all Ensigns of Magistracy and Authority, one *Maleife*, a seditious Fryar, stirr'd up the Multitude against him, which being led on by one *Fanning*, a Person notorious for many Outrages and Acts of Blood and Inhumanity in the Beginning of the Rebellion, violently assaulted them; and after many opprobrious Speeches in Contempt of the Peace and the Authority

Which occasion'd popular Tumults, particularly in Limerick

of the King, and tearing off the Coat from the Herauld, beat and wounded him and many of the Magistrates of the City, and some of them almost to Death. And lest all this might be excus'd, and charitably interpreted to be the Effect of a popular tumultuous Insurrection, the lawful Mayor, and other principal Officers who assisted

Where the Magistrates are displaced.

him in the Discharge of his Duty, were immediately displac'd, and *Fanning*, the impious Conductor of that Rabble, made Mayor in his Place; who by Letters from the Nuncio was thank'd for what he had done, encourag'd to proceed in the same Way, and had the Apostolical Benediction bestow'd on him for committing such an Outrage on the priviledg'd Person of an Herauld, who in the Name of the King came to proclaim the Peace, as by the Law of Nations must have been adjudged barbarous

barbarous and unpardonable, in any Part of the World where Civility is planted, if he had come to have denounc'd War: And yet all this while, the Design itself was carried on with so great Secresy, that the Lord Lieutenant (proceeding in his Progress for the settling and composing the Humours of the People, which he understood to have been in some Disorders by the Infusion of the ill affected Clergy) never heard of any Force of Arms to second and support these mutinous Disorders, till being near the City of *Cashell*, he was inform'd by Letters from the Mayor, that *Owen O Neal's* Army was march'd that Way, and had sent terrible Threats to that City, if it presum'd to receive the Lord Lieutenant: And shortly after, he found, that *Owen O Neal* us'd all possible Expedition to get between him and *Dublin*, that so he might have been able to have surpriz'd and destroy'd him. Whereupon the Marquess found it necessary to lose no Time in returning thither, yet resolv'd not only to contain himself from all Acts of Hostility, but even from those Trespasses which are hardly avoided upon Marches, and so paid punctually for whatsoever was taken from the Inhabitants throughout all the *Catholick* Quarters, presuming that those Persons of Honour who had transacted the Treaty, would have been able to have

These Disorders supported by an Army under Owen O Neal.

Who endeavours to surprise the Marquess.

caus'd that Peace to be observ'd in despite of these clamorous Undertakers.

The Assembly at Waterford declares the Peace void.

When the unchristian Congregation at *Waterford* had made this Essay of their Power and Jurisdiction, they made all possible Haste to propagate their Authority, and declar'd the Peace to be void, and inhibited all Persons to submit thereto, or to pay any Taxes, Impositions, or Contributions which had been settled by the said Agreement; and without which neither a Standing Army (which was to be apply'd to the Reduction of those Towns and Provinces which had put themselves under the Protection of the Rebels of *England*, and never submitted to the former Cessation, nor could be comprehended in the Peace) could be supported, or the ten thousand Men could be transported into *England* for the Service of the King, as had been so religiously undertaken. Which Inclination of theirs the People so readily obey'd, and submitted unto, that they delegated an entire and absolute Power and Command, as well in Secular as Ecclesiastical Matters, to the Pope's Nuncio, who began his Empire with committing to Prison the Commissioners who had been instrumental in the Treaty, and making of the Peace by Order of the General Assembly, and issued out an Excommunication against all those who had, or should submit to the Peace,

which

The Nuncio assumes the Supreme Power.

which comprehended all the Nobility, and almost all the Gentry of the Nation, and very many of the most learned and pious Clergy, as well Regular as Secular: Which Excommunication wrought so universally upon the Minds of the People, that albeit many Persons of Honour and Quality receiv'd infinite Scandal, and well foresaw the irreparable Damage their Religion itself would undergo by that unwarrantable Proceeding, and us'd their utmost Endeavours to draw the People to Obedience and Submission to the said Agreement; and to that Purpose prevail'd so far with General *Preston*, that he gave them Reason to hope, that he would join with them for the Vindication of the publick Faith and Honour of the Nation, and compel those that oppos'd it to submit to the Peace; yet all these Endeavours produc'd no Effect, but concluded in unprofitable Resentments and Lamentations.

In the mean Time, *Owen O Neal* (when he found himself disappointed of his Design to cut off the Lord Lieutenant before he should reach *Dublin*) enter'd into the Queen's County, and committed all Acts of Cruelty and Outrage that can be imagin'd; took many Castles and Forts that belong'd to the King, and put all who resisted, to the Sword; and his Officers, in cold Blood, caus'd others to be murder'd, to whom

His Exercise of it.

Owen O Neal enters the Queen's County.

they had promis'd Quarter, as Major *Piggott*, and others of his Family; and shortly after the Nuncio prevail'd so much, that he united General *Preston* to his Army, and likewise to his Purpose, and then himself, as Generalissimo, led both Armies towards *Dublin*, where the Lord Lieutenant was so surpriz'd by their Perfidiousness, that he found himself in no less Streights and Distresses from his Friends within, than from his Enemies without, (who totally neglected those Forces, which being under the Obedience of the *English* Rebels, had always waged a sharp and bloody War with them, and at present made Inroads into their Quarters, to their great Damage,) and entirely engag'd themselves close to suppress the King's Authority, to which they had so lately submitted.

Left so prodigious an Alteration as is now set forth, may appear to be wrapp'd in too short Discourses, and it may appear almost incredible, that an Agreement so deliberately and solemnly enter'd into by the whole Nobility and Gentry of a Nation, in a Matter that so entirely concern'd their own Interest, should in such an Instant be blasted and annihilated by a Congregation of Clergy, assembled only by their own Authority, and therefore without the Vice of Curiosity, all Men may desire to be inform'd by what Degrees and Methods that Congregation

gregation proceeded, and what specious Pretences and Insinuations they us'd towards the People for the better persuading them to depart from that Peace, they were once again restor'd to the Possession of; it will be less impertinent to set down some important Particulars of their Proceedings, and the very Form of some Instruments published by them, that the World may see the Logick and Rhetorick that was us'd to impose upon and delude that unhappy People, and intangle them in that Labyrinth of Confusion, in which they are still involv'd.

They were not content not to suffer the Peace to be proclaim'd in *Waterford*, and to dissuade the People from submitting to it, but by a Decree, dated the 12th of *August*, 1646, which they commanded to be published in all Places in the *English* and *Irish* Tongue; they declar'd by the unanimous Consent and Votes of all, even none contradicting, (as they say) that all and singular the confederate Catholics, who should adhere or consent to the Peace or to the Factors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, should be absolutely perjur'd; especially for this Cause, that in those Articles there is no Mention made of the Catholick Religion, or the Security thereof, or any Care taken for the Conservation of the Privileges of the Country, as had been pro-

Strange Decree of the Irish Clergy.

promis'd in an Oath formerly taken by them, but rather all Things referr'd to the Pleasure of the most renown'd King, from whom, in this present State, they said nothing of Certainty could be had; and in the Interim the Armies, Arms and Fortunes, and even the supreme Council of the confederate Catholicks, are subjected to the Rule and Authority of the Council of State and Protestant Officers of his Majesty, from whom, that they might be secure, they had taken that Oath; and the next Day being inform'd that the Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, and Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, were appointed by the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny* to go to *Dublin* to confer with the Lord Lieutenant, upon the best Way to be pursu'd for the Execution and Observation of the Peace, they made an Order in Writing, in which were these Words.

‘ We admonish in our Lord, and require the Persons who are departed to
 ‘ *Dublin*, that they forbear and abstain
 ‘ from going thither for the said End; and
 ‘ if they be gone, that they return; and
 ‘ this under the Pain of Excommunication;
 ‘ commanding the Right Honourable the
 ‘ Bishop of *Offory*, and other Bishops, as
 ‘ well assembled as not assembled here,
 ‘ and there; Vicars General, as also Vicars
 ‘ Apostolical, and all Priests, even Irregulars,
 ‘ that they intimate these Pre-
 ‘ sents,

‘ sents, or cause them to be intimated, even
 ‘ by fixing them in publick Places, and that
 ‘ they proceed against the Disobedient, in
 ‘ denouncing of Excommunication, as it
 ‘ should be expedient in our Lord.’

When the Supreme Council (notwith-
 standing these new Orders and Injunctions)
 continu’d still their Desire to observe the
 Peace, the titular Bishop of *Offory* publish’d
 this extraordinary Writing. ‘ Whereas we ^{Strange}
 ‘ have in publick and private Meetings, at ^{Writing of}
 ‘ several Times, declared to the Supreme ^{the titular}
 ‘ Council, and others whom it may con- ^{Bishop of}
 ‘ cern, that it was unlawful, against Con- ^{Offory.}
 ‘ science, and implying Perjury (as it hath
 ‘ been defin’d by the penal Act of the
 ‘ Convocation now at *Waterford*) to both
 ‘ Commonwealths, Spiritual and Temporal,
 ‘ to do or concur to any Act tending
 ‘ to the Approbation or Countenancing the
 ‘ Publication of this unlawful and mischie-
 ‘ vious Peace, so dangerous (as it is now
 ‘ articulated) to both Commonwealths, Spi-
 ‘ ritual and Temporal: And whereas, not-
 ‘ withstanding our Declaration (yea the
 ‘ Declaration of the Clergy of the King-
 ‘ dom) to the contrary, the Supreme
 ‘ Council, and the Commissioners, have
 ‘ actually proceeded to the Publication,
 ‘ yea and forcing it upon the City by
 ‘ Terror and Threats, rather than by any
 ‘ free Consent or Desire of the People: We
 ‘ having

' having duly consider'd and taken it to
 ' Heart, as becometh ; how enormous this
 ' Fact is and appears in Catholicks, even
 ' against God himself, and what a publick
 ' Contempt of Holy Church it appears, be-
 ' sides the Evil it is like to draw upon this
 ' poor Kingdom ; after a mature Delibera-
 ' tion and Consent of our Clergy, in De-
 ' testation of this heinous and scandalous
 ' Disobedience of the supreme Council,
 ' and others who adher'd to them in Mat-
 ' ter of Conscience to Holy Church, and
 ' in Hatred of so sinful and abominable an
 ' Act, We do by these Presents, according
 ' to the Prescription of Sacred Canons, pro-
 ' nounce and command, henceforth, a ge-
 ' neral Cessation of divine Offices throughout
 ' all the City and Suburbs of *Kilkenny*, in all
 ' Churches, Monasteries, and Houses what-
 ' soever. Given at our Palace of *Nova Curia*,
 ' Aug. 18, 1646. Sign'd *David Ossorienfis.*'

The Laity
more mode-
rate.

This extravagant Proceeding did not yet
 terrify those of the confederate Catholicks,
 who understood how necessary the Obser-
 vation of the Peace was for the Preserva-
 tion and Welfare of the Nation ; but as
 they desir'd all Acts of Hostility to cease,
 upon how unreasonable a Provocation so-
 ever, so they sent two Persons of the Su-
 preme Council (Sir *Lucas Dillon*, and Dr.
Fennel) to the Congregation at *Waterford*,
 to dispose them to a better Temper, and
 to

to find out some Expedient which might compose the Minds of the People, and prevent those Calamities that would unavoidably fall upon the Nation, upon their declining or renouncing the Peace: But after they had attended several Days, and offered many Reasons and Considerations to them, the Congregation put a Period to all the Hopes and Consultations of that Nature, by issuing out a Decree of Excommunication, which they caused to be printed in this Form, in these Words, with the marginal Notes; *By John Baptist Ra-* But disap-
nucini, Archbishop and Primate of Fermo, pointed by
and by the Ecclesiastical Congregation of both
Clergies of the Kingdom of Ireland.

A Decree of Excommunication against The Assem-
 such as adhere to the late Peace, and do bly's De-
 bear Arms for the Hereticks of *Ireland,* cree of Ex-
 and do aid or assist them. communi-
cation.

NOT *without Cause (saith the Oracle of Truth) doth the Minister of God carry the Sword, for he is to punish him that doth Evil, and remunerate him that doth Good: Hence it is, that we have by our former Decree declared to the World, our Sense and just Indignation against the late Peace, concluded and published at Dublin; not only in its Nature bringing Prejudice and Destruction of Religion and Kingdom, but also contrary*

A VINDICATION of

trary to the Oath of Association, and withal against the Contrivers of and Adherers to the said Peace; in Pursuance of which Decrees, being forced to unsheath the spiritual Sword, We (to whom God hath given Power to bind and loose on Earth) Mat. xvi. 18, 19. assembled together in the Holy Ghost, tracing herein and imitating the Examples of many venerable and holy Prelates, who have gone (2 Cor.) before us; and taking for our Authority the sacred Canons (55) of holy Church, grounded on holy Writ, ut tollantur e medio nostrum qui hoc opus faciunt, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu; deliver over such Persons to Satan (that is to say) Excommunicate, Execrate, and Anathematize all such as after the Publication of this our Decree and Notice, either privately or publickly given them hereof, shall defend, adhere to, or approve of the Justice of the said Peace; and chiefly those who bear Arms, or make, or join in War, for, or in Behalf of the Puritans or other Hereticks at Dublin, Cork, Youghall, or of other Places in this Kingdom; or shall either by themselves, or by their Appointment bring, send, or give any Aid, Succour, or Relief; Victuals, Ammunition, or other Provision to them; or by Advice, or otherways, advance the said Peace, or the War made against us; those and every of them, by this present Decree, we do declare and pronounce Excommunicated ipso facto

facto, ut non circumveniamini a Satana, non enim ignoramus Cogitationes ejus. *Dated at Kilkenny in our Palace of Residence, 15 October, 1646. Signed Johannes Baptista Archi-Episcopus Fermanus, Nuncius Apostolicus de Mandato illustrissimi Domini Nuncii & Congregationis Ecclesiasticæ utriusq; Cleri Regni Hiberniæ, Nicholas Fennensis Congregationis Cancellarius.*

And having thus fortified himself, he, as *The Nuncio marches* Generalissimo, made all Preparations, to *two Armies to Dublin.* march with two Armies to *Dublin*, which consisting of sixteen thousand Foot, and as many hundred Horse; he believed, or seemed to believe, he should take the Town by Assault as soon as he should appear before it; and in this Confidence (that we may not interrupt the Series of this Discourse, by any intervening Action) when the Armies were within a Day's March of the City, the two Generals sent this Letter with the Propositions annexed to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it please your Excellency,

B*Y the Command of the Confederate Catholics of this Kingdom, who offer the inclosed Propositions, we have under our Leading two Armies; our Thoughts are bent to our Religion, King and Country; our End is to establish the first, and to make the*
two

A VINDICATION of

two last secure and happy; it is the greatest of our Care and Desire to persuade your Excellency to the effecting so blessed a Work: We do not desire Effusion of Blood, and to that Purpose the inclosed Propositions are sent from us. We pray God, your Consideration of them may prove fruitful. We are commanded to pray your Excellency to render an Answer to them by Two o'Clock in the Afternoon on Thursday next; be it War or Peace, we shall endeavour in our Ways to exercise Faith and Honour, and upon this Thought, we rest Your Excellency's most Humble Servants,

*From the Camp,
2 March, 1646.*

JOHN PRESTON:
OWEN Ô NEAL.

*Haughty
Propositions to the
Lord Lieu-
tenant.*

I. **T**HAT the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion be in *Dublin, Drogheda,* and in all the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as free and Publick as it is now in *Paris* in *France*, or *Bruxels* in the *Low Countries*.

II. That the Council of State, called ordinarily the Council-Table, be of Members true and faithful to his Majesty, and such of which there may be no Fear or Suspicion of going to the *Parliament Party*.

III. That *Dublin, Drogheda, Trym, Newry, Catherlagh, Carlingford*, within the Protestant Quarters, be garrison'd by Confederate Catholicks, to maintain and keep the

the said City and Places for the Use of our Sovereign Lord King *Charles* and his lawful Successors, for the Defence of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

IV. That the present Council of the Confederates, shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain for the Use of his Majesty and his lawful Successors, and for the Defence of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, the above City of *Dublin*, *Drogheda*, and all other Forts, Places, and Castles as above.

V. That the Council and all General Officers and Soldiers whatsoever, do swear and protest to fight by Sea and Land against the Parliamentaries, and all the King's Enemies; and that they will never come to any Convention or Article with the said Parliamentaries, or any the King's Enemies to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Rights, or of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

VI. That according to our Oath of Association, we will, to the best of our Power and Cunning, defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the King's Right, the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects. *His Excellence is prayed to make Answer to the above Propositions at farthest by two of the Clock in the Afternoon, upon Thursday next.*

JOHN PRESTON,
OWEN O NEAL.

E

Let

*The Difficulties the
Marquess
lay under.*

Let all dispassionate Men now consider what could the Marquess do, his Quarters were so streight and narrow, that they could yield no Support to the few Field Forces he had left, all his Garrisons besieg'd without an Enemy, being destitute of all Provisions within, and so block'd up by the Rebels Ships, which kept all Manner of Trade and Supplies from them that Way. All the Army he had for the Field and Garrisons amounted not to 5000 Foot and 400 Horse, without Cloaths, Money, or fix'd Arms, and with so inconsiderable a Store of Ammunition, that when the Nuncio was upon his March, with both the *Irish* Generals, and their united Power, towards *Dublin*, he had not in that most important City, the Metropolitan of that Kingdom, more than fourteen Barrels of Powder; not only the Inhabitants, but the Soldiers themselves impatient of the Distresses they were in, and which inevitably they saw must fall on them; and they who had before presum'd in Corners and Whispers to tax the Marquess as not being zealous enough for the *English* Interest, and too credulous of what was promis'd and undertaken by the *Irish*, had the Boldness to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combin'd with the *Irish* to put all into their Hands. They who from the Beginning of the Troubles had been firm and unshaken
in

In their Loyalty to the King, and chearfully suffer'd great Losses, and had undergone great Hazards for being so, and had been of the most constant Affection to, and Confidence in, the Marquess, and resolv'd to obey him in whatsoever he should order for the King's Service, for the conducting whereof he was solely and entirely intrusted by his Majesty, could not yet endure to think of being put into, or falling under the Power of the *Irish*, who by this new Breach of Faith, had made themselves utterly incapable of any future Trust; for what Security could they publickly give for Performance of any Contract, which they had not lately given, for the Observation of that which so infamously they had receded from? That as there wanted not some within the City, and of the Soldiers, who undertook to surprize the Castle, and to seize on the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, and to deliver both to the *English* Rebels, and had so near executed that Design, that they had in the Morning surpriz'd the Guard, and were possesst of the principal Port in the Castle; so the rest did so far prefer a Submission to the *English* Rebels, (who then pretended a Resolution to return to their Obedience to the King, and were upon Treaties to that End) before their submitting to the *Irish*, that the Marquess had not Power enough to proceed

ceed upon that Conspiracy with such Severity as was necessary, lest too many might be found to be involv'd in that Guilt, and some of too much Interest and Credit to be brought to Justice; whereupon he found it to be absolutely necessary to make a Shew of inclining to the *English*, and sent to the Ships then riding in the Bay of *Dublin*, that they would transport some Commissioners to the Parliament from him to treat about the Surrender of the City, and other Garrisons under his Command, which Proposition was most greedily embrac'd by them, and the Persons deputed accordingly convey'd into *England*. By this Means the Marquess was forthwith supply'd with a considerable Proportion of Powder, which the Captains of those Ships deliver'd to him, without which he could have made no Defence against the Nuncio; and hereby the *Irish* had a fair Warning to bethink themselves in Time of returning to their Duty, since they might discern, that if they would not suffer *Dublin* to continue in the King's Obedience, it should be deliver'd to them, who would deal less graciously with those, and had Power enough to punish those Indignities which had been offer'd and the Marquess was still without other Engagements than to do what he should judge most conducing to his Majesty's Service.

*The Lord
Lieutenant
obliged to
treat with
the Parlia-
ment.*

This

This last Consideration made such Impression upon them, that when they saw the Ships return from *England*, with Supplies of Soldiers, Money, and great Store of Provision, and the Commissioners to treat with the Marquess for putting all into their Hands, the *Irish* seem'd less united among themselves, and more desirous to make Conditions with the Lord Lieutenant and General *Preston*, and his Officers frankly enter'd into a Treaty with the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, whom the Lord Lieutenant authoriz'd to that End, and with deep and solemn Oaths undertook and promis'd to stand to the Peace, and from that Time forward to be obedient to his Majesty's Authority, and to join with the Marquess of *Ormond* against all those who should refuse to submit to them. On the other Side, the Commissioners from the two Houses of Parliament, who were admitted into *Dublin* to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, observing the very ill Condition the Town was in, besieg'd by two strong Armies, by whom they within every Hour expected to be assaulted, concluded, that the Want of Food and all Necessaries for Defence would compel the Marquess, with the Importuning and Clamour of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, to receive Supply of Men, Money, and Victuals (which they had brought) on any Terms, and therefore

which more inclines the Irish to Peace.

but heightens the Parliament Commissioners.

insisted on very unreasonable and extravagant Demands, and refus'd to consent that the Marquess should send any Messenger to the King, that upon Information how the Cause stood, he might receive his Majesty's Directions what to do, and without which he was always resolv'd not to proceed to any Conjunction with them, and so had privately dispatch'd several Expresses to the King (as soon as he discern'd clearly that the *Irish* were so terrify'd by the Nuncio and his Excommunication, that there was little Hope of Good from them) with Information of the State of Affairs, and expected every Day a Return of some of the said Messengers, with the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure. All Things being in this Posture, the Commissioners from the two Houses return'd again to their Ships, and carry'd all the Supplies they had brought to the Parliament Garrisons, in the Province of *Ulster*, being so much more incens'd against the Lord Lieutenant for declining an entire Union with them, and inclining (as they say he did) to a new Confidence in the *Irish*.

The Marquess of *Clanrickard* had an entire Trust from the Lord Lieutenant as a Person superior to all Temptations, which might endeavour to lessen or divert his Affection and Integrity to the King, and his Zeal to the *Romish* Religion in which he

had been bred, and to which he had most constantly adher'd, was as unquestionable: He had taken very great Pains to render the Peace which had been so long in Consultation, effectual to the Nation, and had very frankly, both by Discourse and Writing, endeavour'd to dissuade the Nuncio from proceeding by those rough Ways, which he foresaw were like to undo the Nation, and dishonour the Catholick Religion: He found General *Preston* and the Officers of his Army less transported with Passion and a blind Submission to the Authority of the Nuncio, than the other, and that they profess'd greater Duty and Obedience to the King, and that they seem'd to be wrought upon by two Conclusions which had been infus'd into them; the one was, that the Lord Lieutenant was so great an Enemy to their Religion, that tho' they should obtain any Conditions from the King, (to their Advantage in that Particular) he would oppose and not consent unto the same: The other was, that the King was now in the Hands of the *Scots*, who were not like to approve of the Peace which had been made (all that Nation in *Ulster* refusing to submit unto it) and if they should procure any Order from his Majesty to disavow it, the Lord Lieutenant would undoubtedly obey. These specious Infusions the Marquess of *Clanrickard* endeavour'd

*Jealousies
of the
Irish.*

*Removed
by the
Marquess
of Clan-
rickard.*

to remove, and undertook (upon his Honour) to use all the Power and Interest he had in the King, Queen, and Prince, on behalf of the *Roman Catholics*, and to procure them such Liberties and Privileges, for the free Exercise of their Religion, as they could reasonably expect, and undertook, that the Lord Lieutenant would acquiesce with such Directions as he should receive therein, without Contradiction, or Endeavours to do ill Offices to the Catholics. He farther promis'd, that if any Order should be procur'd from the King, during the Restraint he was then under, to the Disadvantage of the Catholics, he would suspend any Obedience thereunto, until such Time as his Majesty should be at Liberty, and might receive full Information on their Behalf. And upon the Marquess of *Clanrickard's* positive undertaking those Particulars, and the Lord Lieutenant having ratify'd and confirm'd all the Marquess had engag'd himself for, General *Preston*, and all the Officers under his Command, sign'd this ensuing Engagement.

*The Irish
General
Preston,
and his Of-
ficers, en-
ter into an
Engage-
ment.*

WE the General, Nobility, and Officers of the Confederate Catholick Forces, do solemnly bind and engage ourselves, by Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by the sacred Protestation upon the Faith of Catholics in the Presence of Almighty God, both
for

for ourselves, and (as much as in us lies) for all Persons that are, or shall be under our Command, That we will from the Date hereof forward, submit, and conform ourselves entirely and sincerely to the Peace concluded and proclaimed by his Majesty's Lieutenant, with such additional Concessions and Securities, as the Right Honourable Ulick Lo, Marquess of Clanrickard hath undertaken to procure and secure to us, in such Manner, and upon such Terms as is express'd in his Lordship's Undertaking and Protestation of the same Date, hereunto annex'd, and sign'd by himself: And, we upon his Lordship's Undertaking, engage ourselves, by the Bond of Honour and Conscience abovesaid, to yield entire Obedience to his Majesty, and to his Lord General, and General Governor of this Kingdom, and to any deriving Authority from them by Commission, to command us in our several Degrees; and that according to such Orders as we shall receive from them, faithfully to serve his Majesty against all his Enemies or Rebels, as well within this Kingdom, as in any other Part of his Dominions, and against all Persons that shall not join with us upon these Terms, in Submission to the Peace of this Kingdom, and to his Majesty's Authority. And we do farther engage ourselves, under the said solemn Bonds, that we will never, directly, nor indirectly, make use of any Advantage or Power, wherewith we shall be intrusted

intrusted, to the obliging of his Majesty or his Ministers, by any Kind of Force to grant unto us any Thing beyond the said Marquess of Clanrickard's Undertaking, but shall wholly rely upon his Majesty's own free Goodness, for what farther Graces and Favours he shall graciously please to confer upon his faithful Catholick Subjects, according to their Obedience and Merit in his Service. And we do farther protest, that we shall never think ourselves disobliged from this Engagement, by any Authority or Power whatsoever, provided, on both Parties, this Engagement and Undertaking be not understood, or extend to debar and hinder his Majesty's Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, from the Benefit of any farther Grace or Favour, which his Majesty may be graciously pleased to concede to them upon the Queen's Mediation, or any other Treaty abroad.

This was done about the End of Nov. 1646. The Nuncio, with the other Army under Owen O Neal, having been about the same Time compell'd to raise the Siege, and

*The Mar-
quess of
Clanrick-
ard made
General of
the Army.*

to retire for Want of Provision; whereupon the Marquess of Clanrickard was made (by the Lord Lieutenant) General of the Army, and was accordingly received as such by General Preston's Army, being drawn in Battalia, and General Preston receiving, at the same Time, a Commission from the

Lord

Lord Lieutenant to command as a Sergeant Major General, and immediately under the Marquess of *Clanrickard*; and shortly after General *Preston* had Order from the Lord Lieutenant, to march with as strong a Body as he could draw out of his Garrisons, to *Kilkenny*, where he promis'd to meet him with his Army, that so, being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the Peace.

When the Marquess was come within less than a Day's March of the Place assign'd by General *Preston* for the meeting and joining their Forces together, the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, who attended upon the Lord Lieutenant, receiv'd a Letter from *Preston* to this Effect.

That his Officers, being not Excommunicated Defection
tion Proof, were fallen from him to the Nun- of *Preston's*
cio's Party, and therefore wished that the Of-
ficers.

Lord Lieutenant would proceed no farther, but expect the Issue of a general Assembly that would be shortly conven'd at *Kilkenny*, where, he doubted not, but that Things would be set right by the Consent of the whole Kingdom, which, he said, would be much better for his Majesty's Service, than to attempt forcing the Peace upon those who are so averse to it.

Upon this new Violation of Faith, the Marquess was compell'd, after some Weeks Stay in his Quarters, to return again to *Dublin*, where the Commissioners who had been

*The Mar-
ques's re-
que'd to
great
Hardships.*

been lately there from the two Houses of Parliament, had sow'd such Seeds of Jealousy and Discontent; and the Treachery and perfidious Carriage of the *Irish* had awaken'd them to such terrible Apprehensions, that the Inhabitants refus'd to contribute further to the Payment and Support of the Army, and, in Truth, were so far exhausted by what they had paid, and so impoverish'd by their total Want and Decay of Traffick and Commerce, that they were not able much longer to contribute; so that the Marquess was forc'd in the cold and wet Winter, to draw out his half starv'd and half naked Troops, only to lye in the Enemy's Quarters, where yet he would suffer no Act of Hostility to be committed, or suffer any Thing to be taken but Victuals for the Subsistence of his Men: And in this uneasy Posture he resolv'd to expect the Result of the next General Assembly, which he suppos'd could not be so constituted but that it would abhor the Violation of their former Contracts and Agreements, and the inexcusable Presumption and Proceeding of the Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*; and that it would vindicate the Honour and Faith of the Nation from the Reproaches it lay under, and from the extravagant Jurisdiction and Power which the Nuncio had assum'd to himself to exercise over

over the Kingdom: But he quickly found himself again disappointed, and (to the universal Wonder of all) the new Assembly publish'd a Declaration of a very new Nature. For whereas the Nuncio and his Council had committed to Prison those Noblemen and Gentlemen who had been Commissioners in treating and concluding the Peace, and had given out Threats and Menaces, that they should lose their Heads for their Transgressions, the Assembly presently set them at Liberty, and declar'd, *That the Commissioners and Council had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned themselves in the said Negotiation, pursuant, and according to the Trust reposed in them; and yet in the same Declaration, declared, That they might not accept of, or submit unto the said Peace; and did thereby protest against it, and did declare the said invalid, and of no Force, to all Intents and Purposes; and did further declare, that the Nation would not accept of any Peace not containing a sufficient satisfactory Security of their Religion, Lives, Estates, and Liberties of the said confederate Catholics, and what they understood to be sufficient and satisfactory to Religion, approv'd by the Propositions publish'd before by the Congregation at Waterford, which they had caused the People to swear that they would insist upon; and which, instead of providing a Toleration of the Roman Catho-*

Strange Proceedings of the General Assembly.

Catholick Religion, had, in Truth, prov'd for the Extirpation of the Protestants, when they should think fit to put the same in Execution. Nor was the only Argument and Excuse which they publish'd for these Proceedings, more reasonable than the Proceedings themselves, which was, *that the Concessions and Promises made unto them by the Earl of Glamorgan, were much larger, and greater Security for their Religion, than those consented to by the Marquess*: Whereas, in Truth, those Concessions and Promises made by the Earl, were disown'd and disavow'd by the Lord Lieutenant before the Conclusion of the Peace, and the Earl committed to Prison for his Presumption; which, tho' it produc'd some Interruption in the Treaty, yet was the same after resum'd, and the Peace concluded and proclaim'd upon the Articles formerly mention'd: So that the Allegation of what had been undertaken by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, can be no Excuse for the violating the Agreement afterwards concluded with the Marquess.

*The Royal
Cause render'd
desperate.*

This last wonderful Act put a Period to all Hopes of the Marquess, which Charity and Compassion to the Kingdom and Nation, and his discerning Spirit, (what inevitable Ruin and Destruction both must undergo from that Distemper of Mind which possess'd them) had so long kept up against his

his Experience and Judgment; and they whose Natures, Dispositions, and Interests made them most averse from the Rebels of *England*, grew more affrighted at the Thoughts of falling under the Power of the *Irish*: So that all Persons of all Humours and Inclinations who liv'd under his Government, and had Dislike and Jealousies enough against each other, were yet united and reconcil'd in their Opinions against the *Irish*. The Council of State besought the Lord Lieutenant, *To consider whether it were possible to have any better Security from them for the Performance of any other Agreement he should make, than he had for the Performance of that which they now recede from and disclaim; and since the Spring was coming on, whereby the Number, Power, and Strength of their Enemy would be encreased on all Sides, and their Hopes of Succour or Relief for themselves was desperate, and so it would be only in his Election, in whose Power he would put those who had deserv'd as well from his Majesty by doing and suffering as much as Subjects could do, into the Hands of the English, who could not deny them Protection and Justice, or of the Irish, who had not only despoil'd them of their Fortunes, and prosecuted them with Animosities and Cruelty, but declar'd by their Carriage, that they were not capable of Security under them: They therefore intreated him to send again to the two Houses of Parliament, and make some Agreement with them,*

Reasons for putting Dublin into the Hands of the English rather than of the Irish.

them, which might probably be for their Preservation; whereas with the other, whatever could be done, was evident for their Destruction.

That which, among other Things of Importance, made a deep Impression on the Marquess, was, the Knowledge that there had been from the Beginning of those Treaties, a Design in the principal Contrivers of them, entirely to alienate the Kingdom of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England*, to extirpate not only the Protestants, but all the Catholics who were derived from the *English*, and who, in Truth, are no less odious to the old *Irish*, than the other, and to put themselves into the Protection of some foreign Prince, if they should find it impossible to erect some of the old Families; and how wild and extravagant soever the Attempt might be reasonably thought, in regard, not only all the Catholics of the *English* Extraction, (who were in Quality and Fortune much superior to the other) but many noble and much the best Families of the ancient *Irish*, perfectly abhor'd and abominated the same: Yet it was apparent that the violent Part of the Clergy that now govern, had really that Intention, and never intended more to submit to the King's Authority, whosoever should be intrusted with it; and it had been propos'd in the last Assembly, by Mr. *Anthony Martin* and others, that they should call in a foreign

foreign Prince to their Protection, and the exorbitant Power assum'd by the Nuncio, was earnest enough how little more they meant to have to do with the King, and gave no less Umbrage, Offence, and Scandal to the Catholicks of Honour and Discretion, than it incens'd those who bore no Kind of Reverence to the Bishop of Rome.

Upon this Consideration, it was believ'd more prudent and agreeable to the Trust repos'd in him, to deposite the King's Interest, and the Rights of the Crown, in the Hands of the Lords and Commons of *England*, who still made great Professions of Duty and Submission to his Majesty, and from whom (how rebellious soever their present Actions were) it might probably return to the Crown, by Treaty or otherways, in a short Time, than to trust it with the *Irish*, from whom nothing less than a chargeable War would ever recover it, in what State soever the Affairs of *England* should be; and how lasting, bloody, and costly the War might prove by the Intermeddling and Pretences of foreign Princes, was not hard to conclude.

While the Marquess was in this Consultation and Deliberation, he receiv'd Information, that the King was deliver'd by the *Scots* to the Commissioners of the two Houses of Parliament, who were then

F

treating

treating with him for the settling of Peace in all his Dominions; and about the same Time, Persons of Quality arriv'd at *Dublin*, having been privately dispatch'd with Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure, upon the Advertisement he had receiv'd of the Condition of *Ireland*, to this Purpose; *That,*

His Majesty's Instructions to the Mar- quess. *if it were possible, for the Marquess to keep Dublin and the other Garrisons under the same entire Obedience to his Majesty: But if there were, or should be, a Necessity of giving them up to any other Power, he should rather put them into the Hands of the English, than of the Irish, which was the Rule the Marquess was to guide himself by, who had likewise his other very important Considerations, which (if all the rest had been away) had been enough to have inclin'd him to that Resolution.*

The King was now in the Power and the Hands of those who rais'd the War against him, principally upon the Credit of those Reproaches and Scandals that had perswaded the People to a Belief of his Inclination to Popery, and of his contriving, or, at least, countenancing the Rebellion in *Ireland*, in which so much Protestant Blood had been so wantonly and cruelly let out. The Cessation formerly made and continu'd with those Rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily enter'd into, had been the most unpopular

Act the King had ever done, and had wrongfully contributed to the Reputation of the two Houses of Parliament; so that, if according to the general Opinion then current, there should a Peace ensue between the King and them, (as most Men conceiv'd must be) the King's Forces being totally suppress'd there, and his Majesty condescending to many Grants, which they ought not in Duty to have demanded; (for few Men suspected such prodigious Wickedness to be in their Purpose, as was after executed;) his Majesty would lose nothing by the Parliament's being possess'd of *Dublin*, and the other Towns then in the Disposal of the Lord Lieutenant: On the contrary, if they intended, indeed, to pursue his Majesty with continu'd and new Reproaches, and thereby to make him so odious to his Subjects, that they might with more Facility and Applause, execute their horrible Conspiracy against his Life; there could be nothing so disadvantageous to his Majesty, as the Surrender of *Dublin* to the *Irish* Confederates, which being done by the King's Lord Lieutenant, who was known so punctually devoted to his Obedience, would be easily interpreted to be by his Majesty's Directions, and so make a Confirmation of all they had publish'd of that Kind; and among the ignorant seduc'd People, might have been a Coun-

tenance to (though nothing could be a Justification of) their unparallel'd Dealings.

*The Mar-
ques's pro-
poses to de-
liver Dub-
lin to the
English
Rebels.*

Hereupon the Marques took Resolution, since he could not possibly keep it himself, to deliver it into the Hands of the *English*; and to that Purpose sent again to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, that he would surrender *Dublin* and the other Garrisons to them, upon the same Conditions they had before offer'd; and they quickly dispatch'd their Ships, with Commissioners, Men, Money, and all other Provisions necessary to take the same into their Possession. The Confederate Catholicks were no sooner inform'd of this, but they sent away to the Lord Lieutenant an Overture of Accommodation, (as they call'd it) yet the Messengers intrusted by them were so wary, lest, by accepting indeed what they propos'd, they might be oblig'd to a Conjunction; that they refus'd to give their Propositions in Writing; and when, upon their Discourse, the Lord Lieutenant had written

*Which al-
larms the
Irish Con-
federates.*

what they had propos'd, and shew'd it to them, albeit they could not deny but that it was the same, yet they refus'd to sign it, whereby it was very natural to conclude the Overture was made by them, only to lay some Imputation upon the Marques, of not being necessitated to agree with the two Houses of Parliament, rather than with

with any Purpose of submitting to the King's Authority. At last, being so far press'd, that they found it necessary to let the Marquess know in plain Terms, what he was to trust to; they sent him a Message in Writing, in which they declar'd *That they must insist upon the Propositions of the Clergy, formerly mention'd to be agreed at Waterford, and to which they had sworn, and that if he would have a Cessation with them, he must promise not to receive any Force from the two Houses of Parliament in six or seven Months; not proposing any Way in the mean Time, how his Majesty's Army should be maintain'd nor any Thing but Submission to all their unreasonable Demands.*

Notwithstanding all which, the Parliament failing to make speedy Performance of what they had promis'd, and the Marquess having it thoroughly in his Power fairly to comply with the *Irish*, if they had yet receiv'd the Temper and Discretion that might justify him; he sent again to them, as well an Answer to their Overture of Accommodation, as an Offer not to receive any Forces from the two Houses for the Space of three Weeks, if they would, during that Time, submit to a Cessation, that a full Peace might be concluded and agreed upon; to which Motion they never vouchsafed to return any Answer. About the same Time *Owen O Neal* wisely foreseeing

that the Nuncio, or the supreme Council, did not enough consider or foresee the evil Consequences that would naturally attend the Lord Lieutenant's being compell'd to leave the Kingdom, and to put *Dublin* and other Garrisons into the Possession of the *English* Rebels, sent his Nephew, *Daniel O Neal* to the Marquess with a Message, *That if the Marquess would accept of a Cessation for two Months, which he believ'd the Assembly or supreme Council would propose, (with what Mind soever) he would promise to undertake to continue it for twelve Months, and in that Time he would use his utmost Power to procure a Peace.*

*Message
from O
Neal to
the Mar-
quess.*

*His Cha-
racter.*

Owen O Neal was a Man of a haughty and positive Humour, and rather hard to be inclin'd to submit to reasonable Conditions, than easy to decline them or break his Word when he had consented. The Lord Lieutenant return'd him Answer, that if he would give him his Word to continue the Cessation for a full Year, he would accept it, when propos'd by the supreme Council for two Months, and he would in the mean Time wave any farther Treaty with the Parliament. But he sent him Word, he would not bind himself to this Promise longer than fourteen Days, if he did not in that Time receive such a positive Effect of his Overture, as he expected. *Owen O Neal* accepted of the Conditions, with
all

all possible Speed dispatch'd his Nephew, *He writes to the Supreme Council for a Cessation.* *Daniel O Neal*, to the Supreme Council at *Clonmell*, with a Letter containing his Advice, and another to the Bishop of *Clogher*, (his chief Confident) to whom he sent Reasons at large, which ought to induce the Nuncio to desire such a Cessation. But *His Advice how receiv'd.* when the Council receiv'd the Letter, and knew that the Lord Lieutenant expected an Answer within fourteen Days, they resolv'd to return none till the fourteen Days should be expir'd; and in the mean Time committed *Daniel O Neal* to Prison, that he might not return to his Uncle; and when the Time was past, they releas'd him, on Condition he should return no more into his Quarters; so that in the End the Commissioners from the two Houses having perform'd all on their Parts that was to be perform'd, the Marquess deliver'd up *Dublin*, and the other Garrisons, into their Hands, and was transported, with his Family, into *England*, where they admitted him to wait upon the King, and to give his Majesty an Account of his Transactions, who receiv'd him most graciously, as a Servant who had highly merited of him; and fully approv'd of what he had done. *The Marquess constrain'd to deliver up Dublin, &c. to the English Rebels, and leave Ireland.*

Since then, upon the most strict and impartial Examination of those Proceedings, Malice itself cannot fix a colourable Imputation upon the Marquess, of the Want

*False As-
persions on
him.*

of that Fidelity and Discretion which was requisite to preserve his Majesty's Interest, or of any Absence of a singular Affection and Compassion towards the People, who have the Honour to be of the same Nation with him; they endeavour'd to get it believ'd, by dark and obscure Expressions, that in the Articles he made before the Delivery of *Dublin*, he intended his own particular Benefit and Advantage, and objected to him, that he consented to have thirteen thousand Pounds paid to his own Use and Behoof, and that the same was paid by them, and receiv'd by him accordingly; and so they would persuade the World, that the Person which frankly expos'd the greatest Fortune and Estate that any Subject had in either of the three Kingdoms, and who, while he was posses'd of any Part of it, made all worthy Men, in Want, Owners of it with him, could betray a Trust for a vile Sum of Money, and could be so sottish as to make that infamous Bargain, and insert it into the Articles which were to be view'd and perus'd by all Men; whereas he might as easily have driven that Traffick with such Secrecy, that it could never have been discover'd, if he had meant it should be secret: And therefore how impertinent soever this Discourse may appear, those who (knowing the Impossibility of the Scandal) think any Thing like a Vindi-

cation to give too much Honour to it, yet it may not be altogether useless to set down the whole Matter, that the Malice and Indiscretion of the Calumniator may be more evident, which was as follows.

When the Confederate Catholicks so totally violated and disclaim'd the Peace, which had been with all Solemnity agreed and enter'd into, and were preparing to unite all their Armies under an entire Obedience to the Nuncio, that they might in an Instant seize upon *Dublin*, and the few other Garrisons where the King's Authority was submitted unto, the pressing Necessities and Streights the Lord Lieutenant was then in, are before mention'd and remember'd: The Fortifications and Works were in most Places too weak to keep out an Enemy; no Magazine of Victuals to endure a Seige; no Money to retain Soldiers from mutinying, till he might obtain Relief from *England*; (which he must have been compell'd to desire) there was no Way to prevent the fatal Issue of those Distresses, but by procuring a present Supply of Money, which might in some Degree provide for each Extremity; and for the compassing hereof, he brought in all his own Money, which, upon the Sale or Mortgaging of several Parcels of his Estate, he had rais'd for the Support of himself and his Family, and became likewise bound to
other

Vindication of the Marquess.

other Persons for considerable Sums, with an exprefs Promise, upon his Honour, that whatsoever Courſe he ſhould be compell'd to take, if he ſhould be forc'd to deliver *Dublin* into the Hands of the Parliament, (which was the moſt viſible Remedy all Men foreſaw would, in Caſe of Neceſſity, be laid hold of) he would make ſuch Conditions for the Repayment of the Money, which, upon that Occaſion, ſhould be lent, that he would not himſelf quit the Place till it was perform'd: And by theſe Means alone, and upon theſe Terms, he procur'd ſo much Money as compos'd the preſent Diſtemper of the Soldiers, and ſupply'd thoſe Wants that could not be borne.

This was ſo publick an Engagement, that no Man could be ignorant of it, inſomuch as before the firſt Overture for a Treaty was ſent to the Parliament, the Privy-Council, after they had advis'd the Lord Lieutenant to demand all that he had diſburs'd upon the publick Service, and what he had been hinder'd from receiving of his own Rents, by thoſe who commanded under the Parliament, and in their Quarters (which the Marqueſs refus'd to do) appointed Sir *James Ware* Auditor General to his Maſteſty, and one of the Privy-Council, to examine the Accounts of thoſe Diſburſements which had been laid out upon the Garrifons, and borrow'd and diſburs'd

burs'd upon the Conditions aforesaid; and upon his Certificate, the Lords of the Council declar'd, by an Instrument under their Hands, that the Sum amounted to thirteen thousand Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four Pence; a Duplicate of which Certificate was sent to the Parliament by those Gentlemen who were first sent to demand a Treaty, and the Commissioners who came first to *Dublin*, frankly, and without Dispute, consented to pay the same; so that if that Sum of Money had been the Consideration of delivering the Town, it would not have been so long after. When he was a second Time necessitated to send to the Parliament, and offer'd to put the Town into their Hands, upon the Conditions before consented to by them, he demanded that 8000l. of the Money might presently be paid in *England* to Persons intrusted by him, and 3000l. at *Dublin*, before the Delivery of the Town, towards the Satisfaction of what had been borrow'd as aforesaid; and that Bills of Exchange, accepted by good and responsible Merchants, might be deliver'd to him; all which they consented to, and promis'd to perform: But when the Commissioners came to *Dublin*, the Bills which they brought for 10000l. were not accepted, nor drawn in such a Manner as to make them valid; upon which, failing on their Part, the Lord
Lieut-

their own Use; and no Question, if he had demanded either, or both of those just Payments, the *English* would easily have comply'd with him; and his Friends had much more Reason to have reproach'd him for not requiring the one, than his Enemies have for receiving the other; but his too nice Consideration of what the Malice of Men might say, prevail'd more with him than the sober Conclusion of what he might in Justice and Honour have done, to wave all Manner of Conditions which might be thought singly to relate to his own particular Advantage and Benefit, how reasonable and just soever.

It was in the Time when the Army had gotten the King into their Hands (having taken him from *Holmbye* out of the Custody of the Commissioners, to whom the *Scots* had deliver'd him) that the Marquess arriv'd in *England*, and found so many specious Pretences and Professions publish'd by that Party, who then had the whole Power in the Army, and consequently in the Kingdom, that very many believ'd his Majesty's Affairs to be in no ill Condition, and more seeming Respect was paid to his Person, and less Restraint upon the Resort of his faithful Servants to him, than had been from the Time that he put himself into the *Scots* Power. The Army then took upon them the Government of the Kingdom,

*Treachery
of the Eng-
lish Army.*

Kingdom, having solemnly declared, *That there could be no reasonable Hope of a firm and lasting Peace, if there was not as special Care taken to preserve the Interest of the King, Queen, and Prince, as of the Liberty of the People, and that both should with equal Care be provided for together:* And in this Time of Freedom and hypocritical Compliance, the Marquess had all the Liberty of waiting on the King, and gave him then an Account of all his Actions, and the Course he had taken for reviving and preserving his Interest in *Ireland*, by settling a Correspondence with many Persons of Honour there, which would keep the two Houses of Parliament from obtaining any absolute Dominion in that Kingdom, if they refus'd to return to his Majesty's Obedience (how great an Advantage soever he had given them by the Delivery of *Dublin* into their Hands) and who were most like to reduce that Nation from the Distemper with which they were transported, and to incline them to that Submission that was due from them to the King. With all which (as he had great Reason) his Majesty was very graciously and abundantly satisfy'd, and gave the Marquess Direction, in case the independent Army should proceed otherways than they pretended, how he should behave himself, and comply with the *Irish*, if he could reduce and dispose them to be instrumental

*The Mar-
quess waits
on his Ma-
jesty.*

*And ac-
quaints
him with
his Care
for his
Majesty's
Service.*

strumental towards his and their own Delivery; and when he discover'd, by the double Dealing and hypocritical Demeanour of the Officers of the Army (of whom he had earlier Jealousy than other Men, as seeing farther into their dark Design) the little Good they meant him, and so found it fit to receive Overtures from the Scots Commissioners, who were still admitted to reside at *London*, and to bear a Part in the Managery of the publick Affairs, and now saw that the Independents Power, which they had so much despis'd, was grown superior to them, and that they meant to perform nothing less than what they had so religiously promis'd before the King was deliver'd up at *Newcastle*. The King commands the Marquess to confer with the principal Persons of that Commission, who seem'd very sensible of the Dishonour their Nation had incurr'd, and resolv'd by uniting the Power of that Kingdom for his Majesty's Service, to undo some of the Mischiefs they had wrought, and desir'd that the Marquess of *Ormond*, would likewise transport himself into *Ireland*, to try once more if he could compose the Humours of that People to his Majesty's Obedience, that so those two Kingdoms being entirely reduc'd to their Duty, might (with that Assistance they were like to find in *England*) persuade the violent Party to comply

*Original
of Duke of
Hamil-
ton's En-
gagement.*

comply with those moderate and just Conclusions, which would establish the Peace and Tranquillity of the Whole, in a full Happiness to Prince and People: And from hence was that first Engagement design'd, which was so unfortunately conducted by the elder Duke of *Hamilton*, and concluded with the Ruin of himself, and many worthy and noble Persons.

When the Army had, by their civil and specious Carriage and Professions, dispos'd the King's Party to wish them, at least, better than the *Presbyterians* (who seem'd to have erected a Model of a more formidable and insupportable Tyranny, and were less induc'd with the Appearance of Humanity and good Nature) and had by shuffling themselves into new Shapes of Government, and admitting Persons of all Conditions to assemble and make Propositions to them, in order to a publick Peace, giving Encouragement to most Men to believe, that all Interests would, in some Degree, be provided for, and so had brought themselves into an absolute Power over all Interests; they began to lessen their outward Respect and Reverence to the King, to inhibit some of his Servants absolutely to resort unto him, and more, to restrain the frequent Access of the People, who out of an innate Duty and Affection, delighted to see his Majesty:
They

They caus'd Reports to be rais'd and scatter'd abroad of some Intentions, of desperate Persons, of Violence upon his Majesty's Person; upon this Pretence doubled their Guards, and put Officers of more strict *The Rebels more strictly confine the King.* Vigilance and morose Disposition about him, so that whatsoever he said, did, or was said to him, was more punctually observ'd. The Marquess of *Ormond* was look'd upon with a very jealous Eye, and was one of those noble Persons who were known too faithful to his Master to be suffer'd to be near him, and therefore was forbid to continue his Attendance on him.

The Articles that had been made with him at *Dublin* by the Commissioners, and confirm'd by the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, were every Way violated *Violate their Articles with the Marquess.* and infring'd, in the most important Particulars, as in the Imprisonment of Sir *Faithful Fortescue*, whose Security was provided for by the Articles, in the Delay that was us'd in the Payment of the Money due to him, and whereas he was to reside in any Part of *England* he pleas'd, in all Freedom, for the Space of one Year, without the Imposition of any Oath of Engagement, and at the End thereof he had Liberty to transport himself and his Family into what foreign Parts he pleas'd: As soon as they began to be unmask'd towards his Majesty, they banish'd the Marquess from *London*, *And banish him from* forbid- *London.*

forbidding him to come within twenty five Miles of the City ; and all this before he had ever spoke with the *Scots* Commissioners, or given them the least Shadow of a Pretence against him, saving only that of having a Heart impossible to be corrupted towards his Master, and an Hand likely to be of use to him : And shortly after the King was in the Isle of *Wight*, Directions were given to apprehend and seize upon the Marquess of *Ormond*, who thereupon concluding from their wicked Carriage and barbarous Demeanour to his Majesty, whom they had now made their Prisoner in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, that it would be very impertinent for him to insist upon the Performance, and expostulate for the Breach, of the Agreement which had been made with him, he with all Secrecy transported himself out of the Kingdom, and arriv'd safely in *France* about the End of the Year 1647, having spent in *England* little more, from the Time that he came out of *Ireland*, than six Months.

And gave
Orders to
seize him.

He secretly
leaves
England
and ar-
rives in
France.

He projects
again to
visit Ire-
land.

The Marquess no sooner found himself at Liberty, and out of the Reach of his Enemies, than he projected again to visit *Ireland*, where his Presence was impatiently longed for ; when he had left that Kingdom upon the Breaches so often repeated by the *Irish*, and their stupid Submission to the Pope's Nuncio, (as is before remem-
ber'd)

ber'd) he had specially recommended to the Marquess of *Clanrickard* and Viscount *Taaffe* (who had from the Beginning, without the least Pause, preserv'd their Duty to his Majesty entire, and being *Roman Catholics* had publickly oppos'd the unreasonable and extravagant Usurpation of the Nuncio) to use their utmost Power and Dexterity to retain the Affection of that Party of the *Irish*, who had been very desirous that the former Peace might have been effectual, and were really inclin'd to pay all Obedience to his Majesty, so that they might not be drawn under the Subjection of the Nuncio, but be ready again to submit to the King's Authority, when it should appear again in the Kingdom; and if the Affairs of *England* should be without Hopes of Composure: And accordingly the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, by his Interest and Authority in the Province of *Conaught*, dispos'd the People to a Temper, ready to be apply'd to those Ends he should direct them. And Viscount *Taaffe* commanded a good Army of Horse and Foot in the Province of *Munster*, firmly united to obey him in any Action that might contribute to the King's Advantage: The Forces under the Nuncio were much weaken'd partly by the Defeat of General *Preston*, whose Army was totally routed and destroy'd by the Parliaments Forces,

within less than a Month after they had compell'd the Marquess to leave the Kingdom, and partly by the Dislike which the great Council of the confederate Catholics had of the Demeanour of the Nuncio, and the Experience they now had of his ill Conduct, and the Miseries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the Peace which would have been so advantageous to them.

The Lord *Inchequin*, whom (shortly after the first Cessation was consented unto by the Lord Lieutenant) the *Irish*, contrary to their Faith, had endeavour'd to surprize, and get the Towns in *Munster*, under his Command, into their Hands, and thereby compell'd him to defend himself against them by a sharp War, in which he had given them many Overthrows, and in a Manner driven them out of that Province, held Correspondence with the Marquess of *Ormond* whilst he was in *England*; and as soon as he came into *France*, desir'd him to make what Haste he could into *Ireland*, where he should find the Army under his Command, and all the important Towns in that Province ready to submit to him, to be conducted by him in the King's Service, any Way he should command; and in the mean Time he made an Agreement with the *Irish*, under the Command of the Marquess of *Clanrickard* and the Lord

Lord In-
chequin
invites
him into
Munster.

Taaffe

Taaffe, with the Approbation of the supreme Council of the confederate Catholicks, and sent them Part of his Army to assist them in an Expedition they were then enter'd upon against the Nuncio and *Owen Roe O Neal*, in which they prevail'd so far, that *Owen O Neal* found it necessary to retire into the great Towns, and they drove the Nuncio himself to the Town of *Galway*, where they besieg'd him so close with the Army, that they compell'd the Town, after near two Months Siege, to pay a good Sum of Money to be distributed among the Soldiers, and to disclaim any further Subjection or Submission to the Nuncio's unlimited Jurisdiction; who after he had, with less Success than formerly, issued his Excommunications against all those who comply'd with the Cessation of the Lord *Inchequin*, was compell'd, after so much Mischiefe done to the Religion which he was oblig'd to protect, in an obscure Manner, to fly out of the Kingdom.

The confederate Catholicks make War against the Nuncio.

and besiege him in Galway.

The Nuncio compell'd to fly from Ireland.

And because the impudent Injustice and Imprudence of the Nuncio, and the Subjection of the People to his immoderate and imprudent Humour and Spirit, was, in Truth, the real Fountain from whence this Torrent of Calamities flow'd, which hath since overwhelm'd that miserable Nation; and because that exorbitant Power of his was resolutely oppos'd by Catholicks

of the most eminent Parts and Interests, and (in the End though too late) expell'd by them, it will be but Justice to the Memories of those noble Persons, who themselves and their Ancestors have been eminent Asserters of the *Roman* Religion, and never departed from a full Submission to that Church, briefly to collect the Sum of that unhappy Person's Carriage and Behaviour, from the Time that he was first design'd to that Employment, to the End, that the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and the *Irish* Nation may discern what they owe to his Activity and Government, and that the World may judge how impossible it was for the Marquess of *Ormond* to preserve a People, who so implicitly resign'd themselves to the Councils, Directions, and Disposal of such a Nature and Disposition; and in doing hereof no other Language shall be us'd, than what was Part of a Memorial deliver'd by an honest and zealous Catholick, who was intrusted to complain of the insufferable Behaviour of the Nuncio to the Pope himself, which was in these very Words speaking of the Nuncio; wherein he declar'd,

*Memorial
to the Pope
against the
Nuncio.*

‘ **T**HAT, before he left *Rome*, he would
‘ not admit, either in Company,
‘ or his Family, any Person of the *English*
‘ Nation. In his Voyage, before he arriv'd
‘ at

• at *Paris*, he wrote to his Friends in *Rome*,
• with great Joy, the News (altho' it prov'd
• after false) that the *Irish* Confederates had
• treacherously surpriz'd the City of *Dub-*
• *lin*, while they were in Truce with the
• Royal Party, and treating about an Ac-
• commodation of Peace. Arriving at
• *Paris*, (where he shut himself up for
• many Months) he never vouchsafed (I
• will not say to participate with the
• Queen of *England*) any Thing touching
• his Nunciature, but not in the least De-
• gree to reverence or visit her Majesty,
• save only one Time upon the Score of
• Courtesy) as if he had been sent to her
• capital Enemy, and not to her own Sub-
• jects. Being arriv'd in *Ireland*, he em-
• ploy'd all his Power to dissolve the Trea-
• ty of Peace with the King, which was
• then almost brought to Perfection, and
• his Diligence succeeded, on which he
• valu'd himself, rejoyc'd and insulted be-
• yond Measure. In his Letters he wrote
• to *Paris*, which were after shew'd to
• the Queen, (and he may say truly) that
• in that Kingdom, he hath rather manag'd
• the Royal Scepter, than the Pastoral
• Staff; for that he aimed more to be held
• the Minister of the supreme Prince of
• *Ireland* in *Temporalibus*, than a Nuncio
• from the Pope in *Spiritualibus*; ma-
• king himself the President of the Coun-

' cil, he hath manag'd the Affairs of the
 ' supreme Council of State; he hath by
 ' his own Arbitriment excluded from it
 ' those who did not second him, though,
 ' by Nobleness of Birth, by Allegiance,
 ' by Prudence, and by Zeal to Religion,
 ' they were the most honourable; and
 ' only because they shew'd themselves
 ' faithful Subjects to their natural Prince,
 ' and Friends to the Quiet of their Coun-
 ' try; of these he hath caus'd many to
 ' be imprison'd, with great Disgrace and
 ' Scandal of Sedition: In short, he hath
 ' assum'd a distributive Power both in
 ' Civil and Military Affairs, giving out
 ' Orders, Commissions, and Powers un-
 ' der his own Name, subscrib'd by his
 ' own Hand, and made authentick with
 ' his Seal for the Government of the Ar-
 ' mies, and of the State, and Commissions
 ' for Reprisals at Sea. He struck in pre-
 ' sently after his Arrival in *Ireland*, with
 ' that Party of the Natives who are
 ' esteem'd not only irreconcilable with
 ' the *English*, but the greatest and best
 ' Part of the *Irish* Nobility, as likewise
 ' with the most civil and most conside-
 ' rable People of that Island; and the bet-
 ' ter to support that Party and Faction,
 ' he hath procur'd the Church to be fur-
 ' nish'd with a Clergy and Bishops of
 ' the same Temper, excluding those Per-
 ' sons

sons who were recommended by the Queen, and who for Doctrine and Virtue were above Exceptions; and all this contrary to what your Holiness was pleas'd to promise. The Queen was not yet discourag'd, but so labour'd to renew the Treaty of Peace, already once broke and disorder'd by Monsieur *Rinuccini*; that by Means of her Majesty it was not only reassum'd, but in the End, after great Disputes and Oppositions on his Part, the Peace was concluded between the Royal Party and the Confederate Catholicks, and warranted not only by the King's Word, but also by the Retention of Arms, Castles and Forts, and of the Civil Magistrates, with the Possession of Churches and Ecclesiastical Benefices, and with the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion; and all this would have been exhibited by a publick Decree, and authentick Laws made by the three Estates assembled in a free Parliament: By this Peace and Confederacy they would have rescued themselves from the Damages of a ruinous War, have purchas'd Security to their Consciences and of their temporal Estates, honour'd the Royal Party and the Catholicks in *England* with a certain Restitution and Liberty of the King, whereon depended absolutely the
Wel-

A VINDICATION of

' Welfare of the Catholicks in all his
 ' Kingdoms; the Apostolical Chair had
 ' acquitted itself of all Engagements and
 ' Expence with Honour and Glory. This
 ' Treaty of Peace on all Sides so desir-
 ' able, Monsieur *Rinuccini* broke with
 ' such Violence, that he forc'd the Mar-
 ' quess of *Ormond*, Vice-Roy of *Ireland*,
 ' to precipitate himself (contrary to his
 ' Affections and Inclinations) into the Arms
 ' of the Parliament of *England*, to the un-
 ' speakable Damage of the King and of
 ' the Catholicks, not only of *Ireland* but
 ' also of *England*; he incens'd the greatest
 ' and best Part of the *Irish* Nobility, and
 ' render'd the venerable Name of the
 ' Holy Apostolick Chair odious to the
 ' Hereticks, with small Satisfaction to the
 ' Catholick Princes themselves of *Europe*,
 ' as though it sought not the spiritual
 ' Good of Souls, but a temporal Interest,
 ' by making itself Lord over *Ireland*;
 ' and when the Lord *Digby* and the Lord
 ' *Biron* endeavour'd, on the Marquess of
 ' *Ormond's* Part, to incline him to a new
 ' Treaty of Peace, he did not only dis-
 ' dain to admit them or to accept the
 ' Overture, but understanding that the
 ' Lord *Biron*, with great Danger and Ha-
 ' zard, came to a Town in the County
 ' of *Westmeath*, where he was to speak
 ' with him; he forc'd the Earl, which
 ' was

‘ was the chief Lord of it, to send him
‘ away (contrary to the Laws of Courtesy
‘ and Humanity) in the Night Time, ex-
‘ pos’d to extraordinary Inconveniences
‘ and Dangers amongst those Distractions,
‘ protesting,¹ that otherwise he himself
‘ would immediately depart the Town.
‘ By these Proceedings, Monsieur *Rinuccini*
‘ hath given the World Occasion to be-
‘ lieve that he had private and secret Com-
‘ mission to change the Government of
‘ *Ireland*, and to separate that Island from
‘ the Crown of *England*; and this Opi-
‘ nion is the more confirm’d, since that
‘ one *Maboni*, a Jesuit, hath printed a
‘ Book in *Portugal*, wherein he endea-
‘ vours to prove, that all the Kings of
‘ *England* have been either Tyrants or
‘ Usurpers of *Ireland*, and so fallen from the
‘ Dominion of it, exhorting all its Na-
‘ tives to get thither, and to use all Cru-
‘ elty against the *English*, with Expressions
‘ full of Villainy and Reproach, and to
‘ choose a new King of their own Coun-
‘ try; and this Book so barbarous and
‘ bloody, dispers’d thro’ *Ireland*, is, as yet,
‘ credited by the Catholicks and Aposto-
‘ licks there, and the Continuation of the
‘ History of Cardinal *Baronius* was pub-
‘ lish’d at the same Time, under the Name
‘ of *Olderico Raynaldo*, in which he posi-
‘ tively endeavours to establish the supreme
‘ Right

‘ Right and Dominion of the Aposto-
 ‘ lical Chair, even in *Temporalibus*, over
 ‘ *England* and *Ireland*: I leave to every
 ‘ Man to consider whether all these Acti-
 ‘ ons are not apt enough to beget Jealou-
 ‘ sies and naughty Blood, and whether I
 ‘ ought not, out of great Respect to the
 ‘ publick Good, to represent with some
 ‘ Ardency to your Holiness, the Actions
 ‘ of Monsieur *Rinuccini*, so unpleasant and
 ‘ directly contrary to those Ends, for which
 ‘ it is suppos’d he was employ’d: And I
 ‘ beseech your Holiness, if any King, not
 ‘ only Protestant but Catholick, had seen
 ‘ an Apostolick Nuncio to lord it in his
 ‘ Dominions in such a Manner as Mon-
 ‘ sieur *Rinuccini* had done in *Ireland*, what
 ‘ Jealousy, what Complaints, and how
 ‘ many Inconveniences would thereby
 ‘ follow.’

This was Part of that Remonstrance pre-
 sented to the Pope himself, by an eminent
 Catholick Minister of great Reputation,
 on Behalf of the Catholicks of *Ireland*, who,
 instead of being reliev’d and supported,
 were oppress’d and destroy’d by the Nun-
 cio; and I presume this Extract will be of
 greater Authority and Credit with the
 World, to inform them of the Proceedings
 there, than any Thing started abroad in an
 idle Pamphlet can be towards the incensing
 them

them against a Person of Honour, whom they know not And I heartily wish that the Passion and Unskilfulness of that haughty Prelate, may either have an Influence upon the Catholicks to discern the exceeding ill Consequence that must naturally attend such violent and unnatural Interposition, or it may alienate the Affections of Princes from complying with a Power that will prescribe no modest or civil Limits and Bounds to itself, and incline the Affections of Protestants to Animosities or uncharitable Conclusions, that the papal Chair affects Sovereignty over the Hearts of her Children, which is inconsistent with that Duty they owe to their Prince, and thereupon to abhor a Conjunction with those to whom they should perform all the Duties and Offices of Christianity, Love, and Friendship, and with whom they ought to contribute a joint Subjection and Allegiance to the King, according to the Laws and Policy of the Kingdom, of which they are Subjects.

After the Marquess of *Ormond* had, in *The Mar-*
vain, solicited Supplies of Money in *France*, *quess in*
to the End that he might carry some Re- *vain soli-*
lief to a Kingdom so harra's'd and worn, *cits Sup-*
and be the better able to unite those who *plies from*
would be sure to have Temptation enough *France.*
of Profit to go contrary to the King's Obe-
dience, he was at last compell'd, being
with

*Arrives in
Ireland
with a
small Re-
tinue.*

with great Importunity call'd by the Lord of *Incbequin*, and the rest who upheld his Majesty's Interest, to transport himself unfurnish'd with Money, Arms, or Ammunition, and without any other Retinue than his own Servants, and three or four Friends; and in this Equipage he arriv'd in *Ireland* about the End of *September*, in the Year 1648, and landed at *Cork*, where he was receiv'd by the Lord *Incbequin*, Lord President in the Province of *Munster*. It must not be forgotten, that during the Time the Marquess was in *France*, and after the Parliament Forces had, upon so great Inequality of Numbers, defeated the *Irish*, and in all Encounters driven them to their Fastnesses, the confederate Catholicks had easily discern'd the Mischiefs they had brought upon themselves, by forcing the King's Authority out of the Kingdom, and introducing another which had no Purpose of Mercy towards them; therefore they had sent the Lord Marquess of *Antrim*, the Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, and others, as their Commissioners to the Queen of *England*, and to her Son the Prince of *Wales*, who were both then at *Paris*, *To beseech them* (since by Reason of the Kings Imprisonment they could not be suffer'd to apply themselves to his Majesty) *to take Compassion of the miserable Condition of Ireland, and to restore that Nation to their Protection,*
making

making ample Professions and Protestations of Duty, and of applying themselves for the future, to his Majesty's Service, if they might once again be own'd by him, and countenanc'd and conducted by his Authority. Thereupon the Queen and Prince had answer'd those Persons, that they would shortly send a Person qualify'd to treat with them, who should have Power to give them whatsoever was requisite to their Security and Happiness. With which Answer they return'd well satisfy'd into *Ireland*; so that as soon as the Lord Lieutenant was landed at *Cork*, he wrote to the Assembly of the confederate Catholicks then at *Kilkenny*, that he was, upon the humble Petition which they had presented to the Queen and Prince, come with full Power to conclude a Peace with them, and to that Purpose (that as little Time might be lost as was possible) that Commissioners might be sent to him at his House at *Carri-
rick*, whither he would go to expect them, within fourteen Miles of the Place where the Assembly then sat, who were so much gladder of his Presence, by the Obligation they had newly receiv'd from the King's Authority; for when the Nuncio and *Owen O Neal* had thought to have surpriz'd them, and compell'd them to have renounc'd the Cessation, the Lord *Incbequin* being sent unto by them for his Protection, had
march'd

*Writes to
the Assem-
bly at Kil-
kenny.*

marc'd with his Army to their Relief, forc'd *O Neal* over the *Shannon*, and thereby restor'd them to Liberty and Freedom: So that they return'd a Message of Joy and Congratulation to the Lord Lieutenant

Commissioners sent to treat with the Mar-ques. for his safe Arrival, and appointed Commissioners to treat with him at the Place appointed. It was the 19th of *October* that the Commissioners came to *Carrick*,

a House of the Marquess, where they continu'd twenty Days, which they spent principally in Matters of Religion; in treating whereof, they were so bound and limited by other Instructions, and could make so little Progress of themselves, being still to give an Account to the Assembly of whatsoever was propos'd or offer'd by the Lord Lieutenant, and to expect its Determination and Direction before they proceeded, that for the husbanding of Time, which was now very precious (the Rebels of *England* every Day more discovering their bloody Purpose towards the King) the Assembly thought fit to desire the Lord Marquess to repair to his own Castle at *Kilkenny*, which they offer'd to deliver into his Hands, and that for his Honour and Security he should bring his own Guards, who should have that Reception due to them: And upon this Invitation, about the Middle of *November*, he went to *Kilkenny*; before his Entry into which, he

The Mar-ques invited to Kilkenny by the Assembly.

he was met with the whole Body of the Assembly, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Country; and in the Town was receiv'd with all those requisite Ceremonies, by the Mayor and Aldermen, as such a Corporation useth to pay to the supreme Authority of the Kingdom; so that greater Evidence could not be given for an entire Union, in the Desire of returning to the King's Obedience, or of more Affection and Transport to the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, who (by his steady Performance of those Professions he had always made by his Neglect and Contempt of the Rebels, and their prodigious Power while he was in *England*, and by his refusing all Overtures made by them unto him for his particular Benefit, if he would live in the Kingdom, and by their declar'd manifest Hatred and Malice towards him) was now superior to all the Calumnies they had aspers'd him with, and confess'd him to be worthy of a joint Trust from the most different or divided Interests and Designs. However, there were so many Passions, Humours, and Interests to be comply'd with, and all Conclusions to pass the Approbation of so many Votes, that it was the Middle of *January* before all Opinions could be so resolv'd, as to produce and perfect an entire Contract and Agreement, which about that Time pass'd with that

H

mira-

*Peace con-
cluded.*

miraculous Consent and Unity, that in the whole Assembly, in which were the Representatives of all the Clergy, there was not one dissenting: So that on the Seventeenth of *January*, the whole Assembly repair'd to the Presence of the Lord Lieutenant, in his Castle at *Kilkenny*, and there, with all the Solemnity imaginable, presented him, by the Hand of the Chairman or Speaker, the Articles of Peace as concluded, assented and submitted unto by the whole Body of the Catholick Nation of *Ireland*, which he receiv'd and solemnly confirm'd on his Majesty's Behalf, and caus'd the same that Day to be proclaim'd in that Town, to the great Joy of all that were present; and it was with all Speed accordingly proclaim'd, and as joyfully receiv'd in all the Cities and Towns which profess'd an Allegiance to the King throughout the Kingdom; and for the better Reception thereof among the People, and to manifest the Satisfaction and Joy they took in it, the Catholick Bishops sent out their Letters and Declarations, that they were abundantly satisfy'd in whatsoever concern'd Religion and the secure Practice thereof.

When the Articles of Peace were presented in that solemn Manner to him by the Assembly, after the Speech made by the Presenter, the Lord Lieutenant express'd himself in these Words. My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ I Shall not speak to these Expressions *Lord Lieu-*
 ‘ of Duty and Loyalty, digested into *tenant's*
 ‘ a Discourse by the Gentleman appointed *Speech to*
 ‘ by you to deliver your Sense: You will *the Assem-*
 ‘ presently have in your Hands greater and *by.*
 ‘ more solid Arguments of his Majesty's
 ‘ gracious Acceptance, than I can com-
 ‘ memorate, or, perhaps, yourselves disco-
 ‘ ver; for besides the Provision made a-
 ‘ gainst the remotest Fears, Fear of Seve-
 ‘ rity of certain Laws, and besides many
 ‘ Freedoms and Bounties convey'd to you
 ‘ and your Posterity by these Articles,
 ‘ there is a Door, and that a large one,
 ‘ not left, but purposely set open to give
 ‘ you Entrance, by your future Merit, to
 ‘ whatsoever of Honour and Advantage
 ‘ you can reasonably wish; so that you
 ‘ have in present Fruition what may
 ‘ abundantly satisfy, and yet there are no
 ‘ Bounds set to your Hopes, but you are
 ‘ rather invited, or, to use another Phrase,
 ‘ (but to another and better Purpose) you
 ‘ seem to have a Call from Heaven to
 ‘ exercise your Arms and uttermost Forti-
 ‘ tude, in the noblest and justest Cause
 ‘ the World hath seen; for let all the
 ‘ Circumstances, incident to a great and
 ‘ good Cause, be examin'd, and they will
 ‘ be found comprehended in that which

A VINDICATION of

' you now are warrantably call'd to de-
 ' fend; Religion, not in the narrow cir-
 ' cumscrib'd Definition of it, by this or
 ' that late found out Name, but Christian
 ' Religion is our Quarrel, which certainly
 ' is as much and totally struck at (I may
 ' say more) by the blasphemous Licence
 ' of this Age, than ever it was by the ru-
 ' dest Incurfions of the most barbarous and
 ' avow'd Enemies to Christianity: The ve-
 ' nerable Laws, and the fundamental Con-
 ' stitutions of our Ancestors are trodden
 ' under impious, and (for the most Part)
 ' mechanick Feet! The sacred Person of
 ' our King (the Life of those Laws, and
 ' Head of those Constitutions) is under an
 ' ignominious Imprisonment, and his Life
 ' threatned to be taken away by the sacri-
 ' legious Hands of the basest of the Peo-
 ' ple that owe him Obedience! And (to
 ' endear the Quarrel unto you) the Foun-
 ' tain of all the Benefits you have but
 ' now acknowledg'd, and which you may
 ' further hope for by this Peace, and your
 ' own Merit, is in Danger to be obstruct-
 ' ed by the execrable Murder of the wor-
 ' thiest Prince that ever rul'd these Islands!
 ' In short, Hell can add nothing to the
 ' desperate Mischiefs now openly projected:
 ' And now judge if a greater and more
 ' glorious Field was ever set open to Ac-
 ' tion, and then prepare yourselves to enter
 ' into

‘ into it, receiving those few Advices from
 ‘ him, that is throughly embark’d with
 ‘ you in the Adventure.

‘ First, let me recommend to you, that
 ‘ to this, as to all holy Actions, (as cer-
 ‘ tainly this is) you will prepare yourselves
 ‘ with perfect Charity; a Charity that may
 ‘ obliterate whatever Rancour the long
 ‘ continued War may have contracted in
 ‘ you, against any that shall now co-ope-
 ‘ rate with you in so blessed a Work: And
 ‘ let his Engagement with you in this
 ‘ (whoever he is) be, as it ought to be,
 ‘ a Bond of Unity, of Love, and of Con-
 ‘ cord, stronger than the nearest Tye of
 ‘ Nature.

‘ In the next Place, mark and beware
 ‘ of those who shall go about to renew
 ‘ Jealousies in you, under what Pretence
 ‘ soever, and account such as the infernal
 ‘ Ministers employ’d to promote the black
 ‘ Design on foot, to subject Monarchy,
 ‘ and to make us all Slaves to their own
 ‘ avaricious Lusts. Away as soon, and as
 ‘ much as possible may be, with Distinc-
 ‘ tion of Nations and Parties, which are
 ‘ the Fields wherein the Seeds of those
 ‘ rancorous Weeds are sown by the great
 ‘ Enemy of our Peace.

‘ In the last Place, let us all divest our-
 ‘ selves of that preposterous and ridiculous
 ‘ Ambition and Self-interest, which rather

‘ leads to our own threaten’d general Ruin,
‘ than to the Enjoyment of Advantages
‘ when reasonably desir’d; and if at any
‘ Time you think yourselves pinch’d too
‘ near the Bone by those Taxes and Charges
‘ that may be impos’d for your Defence;
‘ consider then how vain, how foolish a
‘ Thing it will be, to starve a righteous
‘ Cause for the Want of necessary Support,
‘ to preserve ourselves fat and gilded Sa-
‘ crifices to the Rapine of a merciless Ene-
‘ my: And if we come thus well prepar’d
‘ to a Contention so just on our Part, God
‘ will bless our Endeavours with Success
‘ and Victory, or will crown our Suffer-
‘ ings with Honour and Patience: For
‘ what Honour will it not be (if God
‘ hath so determin’d of us) to perish with
‘ a long glorious Monarchy? And who
‘ can want Patience to suffer with an op-
‘ press’d Prince? But as your Endeavours,
‘ so let our Prayers, be vigorous, that he
‘ may be deliver’d from a more unnatural
‘ Rebellion (than is mention’d by any Sto-
‘ ry) now rais’d to the highest Pitch of
‘ Success against him.

‘ I should now say something to you
‘ as to myself, in Retribution to the ad-
‘ vantageous Mention made of me, and
‘ my Endeavours in the bringing this Set-
‘ tlement to pass; but I confess my
‘ Thoughts are taken up with those much
‘ greater

‘ greater Concernments; let it suffice, that
‘ as I wish to be continued in your good
‘ Esteem and Affection, so I shall freely
‘ adventure upon any Hazard, and esteem
‘ no Trouble or Difficulty too great to en-
‘ counter, if I may manifest my Zeal to
‘ this Cause, and discharge some Part of
‘ the Obligations that are upon me to
‘ serve this Kingdom.’

It will not be here necessary to insert the Articles of the Peace which are publickly known to the World, it is enough to say that the Lord Lieutenant granted all that was enough in the Judgment of all the Roman Catholick Bishops, and even of the Bishop of *Fernes*, requisite to a peaceable secure Profession of that Religion, with such Countenance of, and Support to it, as from the first planting of it, it had never (in some Respects) been possess’d of in that Kingdom, but was likewise compell’d so far to comply with the Fears and Jealousies of divers, (who by often breaking their Faith, and from a great Guilt, were apprehensive that all that was promis’d to them might not be hereafter observ’d) as to divest himself of that full and absolute Power that was inherent in his Office, and was never more fit to be exercis’d than for the carrying on of that Design, in which they seem’d all to agree, and to

make twelve Commissioners (nam'd and chosen by the Assembly to look to the Observation and Performance of the said Articles, until the same should be ratify'd in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament) joint Sharers with him in his Authority; so that he could neither levy Soldiers, raise Money, or so much as erect Garrisons without the Approbation of the major Part of those Commissioners; the Danger of which Limitation and Restraint he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that People, and composing them to an entire Confederacy in that Peace (which could be compass'd no other Way) was so necessary, that he could not sacrifice too much to it; and then the Affections and Abilities of the Commissioners were so well known and approv'd by him, that having most of them inclin'd to the same good End with him, he presum'd he should, with less Difficulty, be able to persuade them which were the nearest and most natural Ways that conduc'd thereunto.

O Neal
refuses to
submit to
the Peace.

With what Consent and Amity soever this Peace was made, by those who had any Pretence to Trust, or to whom there was the least Deputation of Authority and Power by the Nation, yet *Owen O Neal* (who had the greatest Influence upon the Humours and Inclinations of the old *Irish*, who had given themselves up to the Nuncio,

cio, and who had a better disciplin'd, and consequently a stronger Army, at his Command than the confederate Catholicks had at their Devotion) still refus'd to submit to it, so that the Lord Lieutenant, as soon as the Peace was concluded, was as well to provide against him, as to remove some Garrisons he held, which infested those who obey'd the Act of the Assembly, and to prevent his Incursions, as to raise an Army against the Spring, with which to march against the *English* Rebels who were possess'd of *Dublin*, and all the Country, and important Places in that Circuit, and who (he was sure) would be supply'd with all the Assistance of Shipping, Men, Money, Victuals and Ammunition, which the inhuman and bloody Rebels of *England* (who had now murder'd their Sovereign, and incorporated themselves under the Name and Title of a Common-wealth) could send to them; and he was in a worse Condition to prevail against both these, by the unhappy Temper and Constitution of the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who being very numerous, and possess'd of the strong Towns, tho' they abhorr'd the *English* Rebels, and were not reconcil'd to *Owen O Neal* and his Army, were yet as uninclin'd to the Peace made with the confederate Catholicks, and far from paying an Obedience and full Submission to the Orders and Government of

the Lord Lieutenant, maintaining at the same Time the *Presbyterian* Form in the Church, and an utter Independency in the State; and out of those contradictory Ingredients, compounded such a peevish and wayward Affection to the King, as could not be apply'd to the bearing any Part in the great Work, the Marquess was incum-

*The many
Difficul-
ties the
Marquess
had to
struggle
with.*

bent to: So that whosoever will wisely resolve and consider this wild Juncture of Affairs, and that towards the subduing the Pride, Strength, and Wealth of the *English* Rebels, and the equal Malice and Headiness of *Owen O Neal* and his Party, as much, or, in Truth, more contracted against the confederate Catholicks than the King's Authority, and to the forcing and disposing the useless and unprofitable Pretences of Affection in the *Scots*, and reducing them to Obedience, the Marquess brought over with him neither Man nor Money, nor any Advantage but that of his own Person, Wisdom, and Reputation, and was now, upon the Peace, to constitute an Army, not only of several Nations and Religions, and of such Passions and Superciliousness in those Opinions which flow'd from the several Religions, but of such Men who, for above the Space of Eight Years, had prosecuted a sharp War against each other, with all the Circumstances of Animosity, Rapine, and Revenge,

venge, and who were now brought into this Reconciliation and Conjunction, rather by the wonderful Wisdom and Dexterity of the principal Commander, than by their own Charity and Inclination; and that in the forming of this Army, he had not above six or seven Officers, upon whose Skill in martial Affairs, and Affection to him, he could with any Confidence depend, but was to make use of very many who were utterly unknown to him, and such who either had no Experience in the War, or who had always been in the War against him. I say, whosoever without Passion considers all this, will rather wonder that the Marquess did not sink under the Weight of the first Attempt, nay, that he could proceed with Success in any one Enterprize, than that an Army so made up, should, upon the first Mis-adventure, be dissolv'd into Jealousies and Prejudice amongst themselves, and that all Confusions should follow which naturally attend such Compositions.

As soon as the Peace was thus concluded, proclaim'd and accepted, the Lord Lieutenant took the Survey of the Stores of Arms and Ammunition, and other necessary Provisions for an Army, which was to be brought together in the Spring, and found all very short of what he expected, and what in Truth was absolutely necessary
to

to the Work, and Ways for raising Money, with which all the rest was to be supply'd, in no Degree to be depended on; the Cities and incorporate Towns, where (upon the Matter) all the Wealth was, having never submitted further to the general Assembly, than by declaring themselves to be of their Party, but like so many Common-wealths, order'd all Contributions and Payments of Money by their own Acts and Determinations, nor would, upon the most emergent Occasion, suffer any Money to be rais'd in any other Proportion, than best agreed to their Humour and Convenience; so that the Commissioners advis'd the Lord Lieutenant to make a Journey in Person to such of those Corporations as were best able to assist him, and by his own Presence and Interest, endeavour to persuade them to express that Affection for the Peace that they had profess'd. Whereupon he went, with a competent Number of Commissioners, to *Waterford*, and from thence to *Lymerick*, and then to *Galway*, from which several Places he procur'd the

Lord Lieutenant borrows Money of the Towns.

Loan of more Money, Corn and Ammunition, than the great Assembly had ever been able to do; and by these Means, which cost him much Labour and Time, he found himself in a Condition to draw several Forces together; which he did about the Beginning of *May*, having made the

Lord

Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant General of the Army; the Earl of *Castlehaven*, Lieutenant General of the Horse; and the Lord *Taaffe*, Master of the Ordnance; and it being thought fit to lose as little Time as might be in marching towards *Dublin*, as soon as any considerable Number of Men were once together, he sent the Earl of *Castlehaven* with them, to take in several Garrisons which were possess'd by *Owen O Neal* in the Queen's County, which was the Way he intended to march, and would have no Enemy in the Rear; and accordingly the Earl took the Fort of *Maryborough*, and other Places in that County, and *Atby* and *Rebone* in the County of *Kildare*, whereby the Passage was open'd for a further March. Having in this Manner begun the Campaign, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a general Rendezvous of the whole Army of *Cloghgrenan*, a House of his own upon the River *Barrow*, near the Castle of *Catherlagh*, where he made a Conjunction of all the Forces, Protestants, and Roman Catholics, who, (by the Wisdom and Temper of the Principal Officers) mingled well enough, and together, about the End of *May*, made a Body of 3700 Horse, and 4500 Foot, with a Train of Artillery consisting of Four Pieces of Ordnance: But when they were now met, all the Money which could be rais'd by the Commissioners,

or

*Promotions
in the Ar-
my.*

*Earl of
Castleha-
ven takes
some of
O Neal's
Garrisons.*

*Rendez-
vous of the
Army.*

or which had been rais'd by the incorporate Towns, was so near spent in drawing the Soldiers out of their Quarters, and in those short Expeditions into the Queen's County, and County of *Kildare*, that they could not have advanc'd in their March, if the Lord Lieutenant had not, upon his personal Credit, borrow'd 800*l.* of * a private Gentleman, (to whom the same still remains due) by means whereof he gave the common Soldiers four Days Pay, and so march'd about the Beginning of *June*, from *Clogbrenan*, and the same Evening appear'd before *Talbot's* Town, a strong Garrison of the Enemies, which, together with Castle *Talbot*, (two Miles distant from the other) was within three Days surrender'd to the Marquess, on Promise of Quarter. From thence he march'd to *Kildare*, which Town was likewise in a short Time surrender'd to him, where he was compell'd to stay three or four Days, both for want of Provision, and a Recruit of two thousand Foot, which, by the Lord *Incbequin's* Care, were then upon the March; and being joyn'd, he was in Hopes, by a sudden and speedy March, to have engag'd *Jones*, who at that Time was march'd a good Distance from *Dublin* with his Army; and so encourag'd his Soldiers with three Days Pay, (which he was likewise compell'd to borrow on his Credit, out of the Pockets

* Sir Jam.
Preillon.

The Mar-
quess takes
in *Talbot's*
Town and
Castle *Tal-*
bot,

And Kil-
dare,

Pockets of Persons of Quality attending on him, and of the Officers of the Army) he pass'd the River *Liffey*, and *Jones* having gotten Intelligence of his Motion, in great Disorder rais'd his Camp, and retir'd into *Dublin*. ^{Obliges Jones to raise his Camp.}

The Marquess encamp'd the whole Army at the *Naas*, twelve Miles from *Dublin*, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken or attempted, being now about the Middle of *June*: That which appear'd worthy of Debate, ^{Council of War.} was, whether the Army should first make an Attempt upon *Dublin*, in which it was believ'd there were very many, both Officers and Soldiers, and other Persons of Quality, well affected to the King's Service, and who had formerly serv'd under the Marquess, and esteem'd him accordingly, who might make that Work more easy; or whether it should be first apply'd to the taking in of *Trym*, *Drogheda*, and other out Garrisons, from whence the City receiv'd much Provision of all Kinds, and from whence Provision to the Army would be cut off, and much other Prejudice might arise: But upon full Consideration, the Council of War, which consisted of the General Officers, inclin'd to the Former, concluding, that if they could take *Dublin*, ^{Relieve to all other Places would quickly fall into their Hands; and if they should delay it, and waste} ^{attempt the Taking of Dublin.}

waste their Provision in those lesser Attempts, there might probably arise out of *England* such Supplies of Men, Money, and other Necessaries to the Rebels, which were daily expected, as might render that important Work almost impossible. Here-

*The Lord
Lieutenant
marches to-
wards
Dublin.*

upon the Lord Lieutenant march'd the next Morning towards *Dublin*, and that Afternoon re-pass'd the whole Army again over the River *Liffey*, by the Bridge of *Lucan*, and encamp'd near that Place to rest his Men a few Hours; he march'd early in the Morning, being the 19th of *June* at a Place call'd *Castle-Knock*, in View of the City; and hearing that *Jones* had drawn out all his Horse into the Green, not far from the Walls, he sent a Party of Horse and Musketeers to face them, while he drew his whole Body within less than Cannon-Shot of their Gates, hoping thereby to give some Countenance to those in the Town to raise some Commotion within; and having spent some Part of the Day in this Posture and Expectation, after some slight Skirmish between the Horse, he found it necessary to draw off, and encamp'd that Night at a Place two Miles from the Town, call'd *Finglas*, whither great Multitudes of *Roman* Catholicks (whereof most were aged Men, Women, and Children, whom *Jones* had turn'd out of the City) repair'd to him, whom he
sent

sent with all due Order for their Reception, to Quarters adjacent.

The Marquess was no sooner in his Quarters, than he receiv'd true Intelligence that *Jones* had sent his Horse to *Drogheda*, from whence they would have been able to have distress'd his Army several Ways, and to have intercepted his Provisions which came out of the Country out of the Magazines, which were at least thirty Miles distant, and the Officers of the Army were of Opinion, upon the View they had taken that Day of the Enemy, and the Countenance they observ'd of their own Men, that they were not presently provided for a formal Siege, and as ill to attack the Town upon a brisk Attempt, and therefore he resolv'd to remain encamp'd at that Place for some Time, whereby he might take the Advantage of any Opportunity that those within the Town would administer unto him; and presently sent the Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant General of the Army, with strong Parties to pursue the Rebels Horse, which were sent for *Drogheda*, which he did so successfully, that he surpris'd one whole Troop, and afterward encounter'd Col. *Coote* in the Head of three hundred Horse, whereof he slew many, and routed the rest, who in a disorder'd Haste fled into *Drogheda*. The Lord *Inchequin* presently sent Adver-

*Lord Inchequin
defeats a
Body of
Jones's
Horse.*

tisement of this Success, and that he had Reason to believe, that if he pursu'd this Advantage and Attempt on the Town, while the Terror possess'd the Rebels, he should make himself Master of it.

Whereupon, and in respect of the great Importance of the Place, the Reduction whereof would produce a secure Correspondence with, and give great Encouragement to the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who made great Professions of Duty to the King, and had now, under the Command of the Lord Viscount *Montgomery* of *Ardes*, driven Sir *Charles Coote* into the City of *Londonderry*, and (upon the Matter) beleagur'd him there; the Lord Lieutenant, by a Decree of the Council of War, approv'd the Design, and to that Purpose sent him two good Regiments of Foot, and two Pieces of Artillery, and such Ammunition and Materials as could be spar'd, wherewith he proceeded so vigorously, that within seven Days he compell'd the Rebels to yield to Quarter, and reduc'd the Town to the King's Obedience.

Takes Drogheda.

There was now very reasonable Grounds for Hope, that the *English* Rebels would quickly find themselves in notable Streights and Distresses, but it was on a sudden discern'd how very active and dexterous the Spirit of Rebellion is to reconcile and unite those who were possess'd by it, (how contrary

trary soever the Principles and Ends seem to be) and to contribute jointly to the Opposing and Oppressing that lawful Power, which they had both equally injur'd and provok'd.

The Parliament Party who had heap'd so many Reproaches and Calumnies upon the King for his Clemency to the *Irish*, who had grounded their own Authority and Strength upon such Foundations as were inconsistent with any Toleration of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and even with any Humanity to the *Irish* Nation, and more especially to those of the old native Extraction, the whole Race whereof they had, upon the Matter, sworn to extirpate; and Owen O Neal himself being of the most ancient Sept, and his whole Army consisting only of such who avow'd no other Cause for their first Entrance into Rebellion, but Matter of Religion, and *That the Power of the Parliament was like to be so prevalent and great, that the King himself would not be able to extend his Mercy and Favours towards them, which they seem'd to be confident he was in his gracious Disposition inclin'd to express, and therefore profess'd to take up Arms against the exorbitant Power only of them, and to retain Hearts full of Devotion and Duty to his Majesty;* and he himself, at present, by underhand and secret Treaties with the Lord Lieutenant, seem'd more

I 2 irrecon-

O Neal
acts in
concert
with the
English
Rebels,

irreconcilable to the Proceedings of the General Assembly, and to the Persons of those who govern'd there, than to make any Scruple of submitting to the King's Authority, in the Person of the Marquess, to which and to whom he protested all Duty and Reverence: These two so contrary and disagreeing Elements had, I say, by the subtle and volatile Spirits of Hypocrisy and Rebellion, found a Way to incorporate together, and *Owen O Neal* had promis'd and contracted with the other, that he would compel the Lord Lieutenant to retire and draw off his Army from about *Dublin*, by invading with his Army those Parts of *Leinster* and *Munster* which yielded most, and indeed all, the Provision and Subsistence to the Marquess, and which he presum'd the Marquess would not suffer to be spoil'd and desolated by his Incursions: For the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this Expedition, Colonel *Monke*, Governour of *Dundalk* (and who was the second Person in Command among the *English* Rebels) had promis'd to deliver him, out of the Stores of that Garrison, a good Quantity of Powder, Bullet, and Match proportionable; for the fetching whereof, *Owen O Neal* had sent *Farrell*, Lieutenant General of his Army, with a Party of five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, at the Time that *Drogheda*

was taken by the Lord *Inchequin*, who being there advertis'd of that new contracted Friendship, resolv'd to give some Interruption to it, and made so good Haste, that within few Hours after *Farrell* had receiv'd the Ammunition at *Dundalk*, he fell upon him, and routed all his Horse, so that of the *Inchequin* 500 there were not forty that escap'd, ^{defeats a} but were either slain or taken Prisoners, ^{Body of O} and got all the Ammunition, and with it, ^{Neal's Ar-} ^{my,} so good an Account of the present State of *Dundalk*, that he immediately encamp'd before it, and in two Days compell'd *Monke* (who else had been deliver'd up by his own Soldiers) to surrender the Place, ^{Takes} ^{Dundalk,} where was a good Magazine of Ammunition, Cloth, and other Necessaries for War, most of the Officers and Soldiers with all Alacrity engaging themselves in his Majesty's Service.

Upon this Success, the less Garrisons of *Newry*, *Narrow-Water*, *Green*, *Castle*, and *Carlingford*, ^{And reduces other} were easily subjected, and the ^{Garrisons.} Lord *Inchequin*, in his Return, being appointed to visit *Trym*, the only Garrison left to the Rebels in those Parts, except *Dublin*, in two Days after he had besieg'd it, made himself Master of it, and so return'd with his Party (not impair'd by the Service) to the Lord Lieutenant, in his Camp at *Finglass*.

O Neal
relieves
the Eng-
lish Rebels
in Lon-
donderry.

Owen O Neal still continu'd his Affection to the *English* Rebels, and when he found that his Design of drawing the King's Army from *Dublin* could not succeed, he hasted into *Ulster*, and upon the Payment of two thousand Pounds in Money, some Ammunition, and about two thousand Cows, he rais'd the Siege of *Londonderry*, the only considerable Place in that Province that held for the *English* Rebels, and which was even then reduc'd to Extremity by the Lord Viscount *Mountgomery* of *Ardes*, and must in few Days have submitted to the King's Authority, if it had not been in that Manner reliev'd by the unfortunate *Irish*.

Lord Lieu-
tenant re-
views his
Army.

All the Places of Moment, near *Dublin* being thus reduc'd, and the Lord *Inchequin* having put Garrisons competent into them, and yet return'd into the Camp with a stronger Party than he march'd out with, on the 24th Day of *July*, the Marquess took a View of his whole Army, and found it to consist of no less than seven thousand Foot, and about four thousand Horse, which, tho' a good Force, was not equal to the Work of forming a regular Siege of so large and populous a City as *Dublin*, and as unfit to storm it; therefore it was resolv'd still to continue the former Design of streightening it, until the Necessities within abated the Obstinacy of that People; for the better doing whereof, the
Lord

Lord Viscount *Dillon*, of *Costello*, was appointed to remain still on the North Side of the Town, with a Body of two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, to block it up, having two or three small Places of Strength to retire unto upon Occasion; and the Lord Lieutenant, the next Day, march'd with the Remainder of the Army over the *Liffey*, to the South Side, to a Place call'd *Rathmines*, where he resolv'd to encamp, and from whence, ^{Encamps at Rathmines.} by Reason of the Narrowness of the River, he might discourage an Attempt of sending Relief into the Town by Sea from *England*, and, in Truth, if he had come Time enough to have rais'd a Work upon the Point, some Interruption might have been given to that Enterprize; but it pleas'd God that very same Day (the 25th of *July*) the Marquess march'd thither, and in Sight of his Army, as it march'd, a strong Gale of Wind from the East, brought into *Dublin* Col. *Reynold*, and Col. *Venables*, with a ^{Supplies to the Rebels arrive at Dublin.} good Supply of Horse and Foot, Money, and all other Necessaries whereof the Garrison stood in Need, which marvelously exalted the Spirits of all those which were devoted to the Obedience of the Rebels, and depress'd the Minds of them who watch'd all Opportunities of doing Service to the King; however, the Marquess pursu'd his Resolution, and encamp'd that

I 4 Night

Night at *Rathmines*, and the next Day made himself strong there, till upon Information (he was sure to receive Advice of the Enemies State and Condition) he might better conclude what was next to be done.

There were many honest Men within the City, who still found Ways to send the Marquess Advertisement of what was necessary for him to know, and some Ships that brought Supplies from and for the Rebels, brought likewise Intelligence from those that wish'd well to the King's Service, under the Lord Lieutenant, and other Persons of Honour that were with him, and from several Persons of known Integrity, and who were like enough to know what was transacted in the Council of the Rebels, it was inform'd that this Supply which was already landed at *Dublin*, was all that was intended for that Place, and believ'd to be sufficient to defend it against any Army they could bring to attack it, and that *Cromwell*, who was enough known to be ready in *England* to embark with a great Army, meant to land in *Munster*, a Country lately fallen from their Devotion, and where there were still too many inclin'd to him, and thereby to compel the Lord Lieutenant to rise from *Dublin*; and it is very true, that at that Time *Cromwell* was resolv'd to have proceeded in
that

that Manner. Upon this joint Intelligence, for it came from some Persons to the Lord Lieutenant, and from others to the Lord *Inchequin*, it was, upon Consultation with the general Officers, concluded absolutely necessary that the Lord *Inchequin*, being President of *Munster*, should immediately, with a strong Party of Horse, repair into that Province, whereby (at least) the Garrisons might be supported against any sudden Attempt of the Enemy, if they should land there; and that the Army being thus weaken'd by the Quality, as well as the Number of this Party, (who were the best Horse of the Body) the Lord Lieutenant should retire to *Drumnah*, being a Quarter of greater Strength than that of *Rathmines* was or could be made, and at such Distance as might as well block up the Enemy as the other, and from thence an uninterrupted Communication might be had with that Party which was left on the North Side of the River; and upon this Conclusion the Lord *Inchequin* departed towards *Munster*.

*Inchequin
sent into
Munster.*

When it was known that the Army was to retire, the Officers and Soldiers express'd much Trouble, and seem'd to believe the reducing of that Town not to be a Matter of that Difficulty as was pretended, if they could hinder the Rebels Horse from grazing in the Meadows near the Walls, which was the only Place they were possess'd of

to that Purpose, they could not be able to subsist five Days, and it would be in their Power to take that Benefit from them, if they possess'd themselves of the Castle of *Baggatrath*, very near adjoining to that Pasture, which was already so strong, that in one Night it might be sufficiently fortify'd: And this Discourse (which was not indeed unreasonable) got so much Credit, that the Council of War intreated the Marquess to decline his former Resolution of retiring to *Drumnab*; General *Preston*, Sir *Arthur Aston*, and Major General *Purcell*, having view'd the Place, assuring the Lord Lieutenant that it might be possess'd, and sufficiently fortify'd in one Night.

It is no Wonder that in an Army thus constituted and compos'd, the Marquess thought not fit by his Authority to restrain them from pursuing an Enterprize of so much Gallantry, and which had so much Possibility of Success, and indeed he still retain'd some Hopes of Advantage by the Affection of the City; and that even in those last Supplies that were sent over, there were many who laid hold of that Opportunity to transport themselves for the Advancement of the King's Service, and with Purpose quickly to change their Masters; so that he was contented to recede from his former Resolution, and on the First of *August*, at Mid-night, sent a strong
Party

Party to possess themselves of *Baggatrath*, ^{Attempt to} and with such Materials as were necessary ^{take and} to fortify it, and because he concluded ^{fortify} that the Enemy would immediately discover what they were doing, and would use their utmost Endeavours to prevent the Execution of a Design which would bring such irreparable Damage to them, he gave strict Order for drawing the whole Army into Battalia, and commanded that they should stand in Arms all that Night, himself continuing in the Field on Horseback till Morning; as soon as it was Day he went to visit the Place that was to be fortify'd, which he found not in that Condition he expected; the Officer excus'd himself by having been misguided in the Night, so that it was very late before he arriv'd there, wherewith the Marquess being dissatisfy'd, displac'd the Officer who commanded the Party, and put another of good Name and Reputation into the Charge, and appointed him to make his Men work hard, since it appear'd, that in four or five Hours it might be so well fortify'd, that they need fear no Attempt from the Town; and that they might be sure to enjoy so much Time, he commanded the Army to remain in the same Posture they had been all Night; and about Nine of the Clock, seeing no Appearance of any Sally from the Town, he went to his Tent

Tent to refresh himself with a little Rest; which he had not obtain'd for the Space of an Hour, when he was awaken'd by an Alarm from the Enemy, and putting himself immediately upon his Horse, quickly found that his Officers had not been so punctual in their Duty as they ought to have been, but had quitted their Posts as soon as the Marquess was gone to repose himself, (out of an unhappy Confidence that the Rebels would not adventure at that Time of the Day to make any Sally) so that a strong Party out of the Town, at Ten of the Clock in the Morning, march'd directly to *Baggatrath*, and with less Opposition than ought to have been made, beat, routed, and dispers'd the Party that possess'd it; who finding their Horse not so ready to assist them as they expected, quitted the Place with all imaginable Confusion, which encourag'd the Rebels (who were seconded immediately by the whole Power in *Dublin*) to advance further towards the Army, (which they discern'd to be in high Disorder) than at their coming out they intended.

*The fatal
Battle of
Rath-
mines.*

The Lord Lieutenant us'd all Means to put the Horse in Order, sending the Lord *Taafe* to command the Foot: But Sir *William Vaughan*, Commissioner General of the Horse, being in the first Charge kill'd, they who follow'd him were immediately

diately routed, whereupon so great a Consternation seiz'd upon the Spirits of all the rest, that the Marquess could prevail with none to stand with him, but the Regiment of his Brother, Col. *Butler*, and Col. *Grady*, with which he charg'd the Enemy, wherein Col. *Grady* being slain, and his Brother sore wounded and taken Prisoner, that Body was entirely broken, and from that Time it was not in his Power, by all the Means he could use, to rally any Party of Horse, or to make them so much as to stand by him; so that when he was even environ'd with the Enemy, and attended with very few of his own Servants, and two or three Gentlemen, he was forc'd to make his Way through them, and to quit the Field. When that small Body of Foot which still kept the Ground, and valiantly defended themselves, finding that they were deserted by their Horse, were compell'd to surrender their Arms to the Rebels; the Lord *Taaffe* making his own Way so prosperously, that he got to the North Side, where he found that Body that he left there, in Arms, and us'd all possible Endeavours to persuade them to attempt a Recovery of what was lost, which in so great Disorder of the Enemy (as such Success usually produces) had not been reasonably to be despair'd of; but the Apprehensions and Jealousies, the Fright and
Terror

Terror was so universal, that he could not incline them to it, nor do more then, (and that in Confusion enough) than to provide for their own Security.

This was the unhappy and (indeed) fatal Defeat of *Rathmines*, which was the first and only Loss that ever fell upon any Army or Party of which the Marquess had the Name and Title (and God knows had here no more than the Name) of the supreme Commander, and these the whole Circumstances of it; so that what Fault, Defect, or Oversight of his contributed thereunto, or what he could have done more to have prevented it, Malice itself cannot suggest; and for the Matter of itself, tho' it must be, and is, confess'd, that many Officers and Soldiers of the Army did not that Day discharge their Trust with Diligence, nor the Foot with any tolerable Courage, and were on a sudden more confounded with Fear and Amazement, than was to be expected from the Cause they were to defend, and from their own Behaviour in former Actions; yet the Success on the Rebels Side, was in no Degree wonderful, the Advantage in Number being theirs, they who sallied out of the Town, and were upon the Field, being effectively 6000 Foot and 1900 Horse, and the Army incamp'd at *Rathmines* were not so strong in Horse or Foot, and therefore
it

it is nothing strange, that so well govern'd and disciplin'd Soldiers, under good Officers, should overcome a lesser Number of raw, new levy'd, and unpractis'd Men, under unexperienc'd Officers, tho' possess'd of some Advantage of Ground; nor can the Unfitness or Unskilfulness of the Officers be imputed to Want of Care in the Marquess, since they were not only such upon whose Interest Men were rais'd and brought together, and so consequently had a Kind of Dependency upon them; but such as were recommended particularly to him by the General Assembly, and how unsatisfy'd they were with all their Officers, but those who were recommended by themselves; and how violently they protested against them, of how great Reputation soever they were for Courage, Conduct, and constant and unblemish'd Integrity to the King's Service, the ensuing Discourse will sufficiently set forth and declare.

When the Marquess found the Consternation to be so great in his Soldiers who fled away, that no considerable Number could be got together to make any Stand, tho' at some Miles Distance from the Action, and the other Part of the Army in *Finglass* Side, who had seen no Enemy, could not be contain'd from dispersing, he sent them Orders to march to *Trym* and *Drogheda* for
I the

the strengthening of those Garrisons, which he believ'd *Jones* might, upon the Pride of his late Success, be inclin'd to attack; and himself went to *Kilkenny*, as the fittest Rendezvous to which he might rally his broken and scatter'd Forces, and from whence he might best give Orders and Directions for the making of new Levies; and in his March thither, the next Day after the Defeat at *Rathmines*, he made an Halt with those few Horse he had rally'd together, and summon'd the strong Fort of *Ballysonan*, which he had before block'd up by a Party of Horse and Foot, and having found Means to persuade the Governor to believe that *Dublin* had been surrender'd, and that his Army was returning, he got that important Place into his Hands, without which Stratagem *Jones* would have pursu'd his Conquest even to *Kilkenny*, which he had found in a very ill Condition to defend itself, and in a whole Week's Time, after his coming to *Kilkenny*, he could draw together but two hundred Horse, with which he thought it necessary, within eight Days after the Defeat, to march in Person to the Relief of *Drogheda*, which, according to his Expectation, was besieg'd by *Jones*, and defended by the Lord *Moore*; upon the Approach of the Marquess no nearer than *Trym*, the

Siege

After this Defeat the Lord Lieutenant retires to Kilkenny,

Takes in Ballysonan in his March,

Which prevents Jones's Pursuit.

Obliges Jones to raise the Siege of Drogheda.

Siege was rais'd, and *Jones* returning to *Dublin*.

His Lordship entring *Drogheda*, whether he resolv'd to draw his Army as soon as might be, issu'd out his Orders accordingly, hoping, in short Time, if no other Misfortune interrupted, to get a good Body of Men together, and to restrain those in *Dublin* from making any great Advantage of their late Victory: But he had been there very few Days, when he receiv'd a very sure Advertisement, that *Cromwell* was himself landed, with a great Army of Horse and Foot, and with vast Supplies of all Kinds, at *Dublin*, where he arriv'd within less than a Fort-night after the unhappy Defeat at *Rathmines*. Lord Lieutenant receives Advice of Cromwell's landing at Dublin.

The Scene was now alter'd, and the War the Lord Lieutenant was to make, could be only defensive, until the Rebels should meet with a Check in some Enterprize, and his own Men, by Discipline and Rest, might again recover their Spirits, and forget the Fear they had contracted of the Enemy; he took Care therefore to repair the Works and Fortifications at *Drogheda*, Provides for the Defence of Drogheda. (as well as in so short a Time could be done) and to get as much Provision into the Town as was possible, and then with the Approbation of all the Commissioners, he made choice of Sir *Arthur Aslen*, a Catholick, and a Soldier

dier of great Experience and Reputation, to be Governour thereof, and put a Garrison into it of two thousand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horse, all choice Men and good Soldiers, with very many Gentlemen and Officers of good Name and Account, and supply'd with Ammunition and all other Provisions, as well as the Governour himself desir'd: And having done so much, he march'd with his Horse and small Remainder of his Foot, to *Trym*, whence he sent to the Lord *Inchequin* to bring up as many Men as he could out of *Munster* (now the Apprehension of *Cromwell's* Landing there was over) and endeavour'd from all Parts to recruit his Army, hoping, before the Rebels should be able to reduce any of his Garrisons, he might be enabled to take the Field.

It was about the Beginning of *September* when *Cromwell* march'd out of *Dublin*, and with his whole Army came before *Drogheda*, of which the Lord Lieutenant was no sooner advertiz'd, than he came to *Trym* to watch all Opportunities to invest his Quarters; and having all Confidence in the Town and in the Experience of Sir *Arthur Aston*, the Goodness and Number of the Garrison, that the Rebels could not be able to get the Town by any Assault. But here again he found himself disappointed;

pointed; the Enemy resolv'd not to lose their Time in the Siege, and therefore as soon as their Summons was rejected, they made a Breach with their Cannon, and storm'd the Place; and though they were for some Time stoutly resisted, and twice beaten off, in the End they enter'd, and pursu'd their Victory with so much Cruelty, that they put the whole Garrison to the Sword, not sparing those, upon second Thoughts, to whom in the Heat of the Action they promis'd and gave Quarter; so that except some few, who, during the Time of the Assault, escap'd at the other Side of the Town, and others, who mingling with the Rebels as their own Men, disguis'd themselves as they were not discover'd, there was not an Officer, Soldier, or religious Person belonging to that Garrison, left alive, and all this within the Space of nine Days after the Enemy appear'd before the Walls; when very many were even glad that they were engag'd before a Place that was like to be so well defended, and to stop their further Progress for that Season of the Year.

This, indeed, was a much greater Blow than that of *Rathmines*, and totally destroy'd and massacred a Body of two thousand Men, with which, in respect of the Experience and Courage of the Officers, and the Goodness and Fidelity of the common

Cromwell takes Drogheda by Assault, and puts the Garrison to the Sword.

Men, the Marquess would have been glad to have found himself engag'd in the Field with the Enemy, though upon some Disadvantages.

He had not now left with him above 700 Horse, and 1500 Foot, whereof some were of suspected Faith, and many new rais'd Men; and though the Lord *Inchequin* was ready to march towards him, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, and the Lord Viscount *Ardes* with the like Number of *Scots*, yet he had neither Money to give them one Day's Pay, or Provision to keep them together twenty four Hours; the Commissioners were either dispers'd, or the Orders for collecting Money not exacted or regarded: And when (in these Streights) the Lord Lieutenant issued out Warrants for the raising Men and Money, they complain'd of his Breach of the Articles of the Treaty, and talk'd among themselves of treating with the Enemies; that which was most adviseable, and which all Men saw was fittest to be practis'd, was, to put all their Men into Garrisons, and thereby secure their most considerable Places, and therewithal (Winter now approaching) to prosecute the Levies, and by good Discipline and Exercise of the Men, to recover their Spirits against the Spring. But (alas!) this was not at all in the Marquess's Power to do, he
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was restrain'd by the Articles of the Treaty from making any new Garrisons, and from changing any old Governours without the Approbation of the Commissioners, and he and the Commissioners together had not Credit and Power enough with the chief Cities and incorporate Towns, which were most worth keeping, and consequently most like to be attempted by the Rebels, to force or persuade them to receive Garrisons; so *Wexford*, *Waterford*, and *Lymerick*, the most considerable Ports of the Kingdom, declar'd they would admit of no Soldiers, nor (indeed) did they further obey any other Orders which were sent to them, than they thought fit themselves.

If this fatal Distemper and Discomposure had not been discover'd to be among them, it is not to be believ'd that *Cromwell* (whatsoever Success he had met with) would have engag'd his Army, which, with being long at Sea, Change of Air, and hard Duty, was much weaken'd, and had contracted great Sicknefs in the Siege, after the Beginning of *October*; yet being encourag'd and drawn out (in Truth) by the Knowledge of this Humour and Obstinacy of the *Irish* against all Remedy which could preserve them, he march'd his Army ^{Crom-} before *Wexford*, the Inhabitants whereof ^{well be-} appear'd willing to make Defence, albeit ^{sieges} *Wexford* they

they had too long neglected the Means thereof, and were at last (when Part of the Rebels Army were lodg'd within half Musket Shot of their Walls) contented to receive an Assistance of Men from the Lord Lieutenant, which, upon the first Intimation, his Excellency hasten'd to them of the Choicest he had left, all Catholicks, (for that was still insisted upon) under the Command of his Cousin Sir *Edmond Butler*, a Man considerably worthy of a greater Charge, who with some Difficulty pass'd the River, into that Part of the Town which the Rebels could not infest; but he had not been two Hours in Town, when Captain *Stafford* (who was Governour of the Castle, and whom the Lord Lieutenant would have remov'd from that Charge, as not being equal to it, but plac'd there because he was a Catholick, and had exercis'd that Charge during the Time that the Confederates were in Arms against the King) gave up the Place to *Cromwell*, and took Conditions under him, and thereby gave Entrance to him into the Town, where all the Soldiers were cruelly put to the Sword, and Sir *Edmond Butler* himself, endeavouring (when he discovered the Treachery) to escape, was killed before he had been two Hours in the Town.

From this Torrent of Success and Corruption, no body will wonder that the
 Rebels

*The Place
betray'd by
the Irish
Governour
of the Ca-
stle.*

*The Garri-
son basely
murder'd.*

Rebels march'd then without Controul, and took *Rosse* and some other Places without any Opposition; yet the Marquess out of a deep Sense of the Stupidity, Waywardness, and Ingratitude of that People, for whose Protection and Defence he had embark'd himself, his Fortune, and his Honour, and whose Jealousies and fond Obstinacy, made the Work of their Preservation more difficult and impossible than the Powers of the Enemy could do, desir'd nothing so much as an Opportunity to fight the Rebels, and either to give some Check to their swoln Fortune, or to perish in the Action; and to that Purpose drew all his Friends to him, and sent for all the Forces he could draw together from the Province of *Munster* and *Ulster*.

From the Time the Peace was concluded at *Kilkenny*, the Lord Lieutenant well discern'd the Mischief he should sustain, by being to provide against the Attempts of *Owen O Neal*, as well as against the *English* Rebels, and that, at least, he could hope for no Assistance from the *Scots* in *Ulster*, as long as they fear'd him, and therefore he had sent *Daniel O Neal*, Nephew to the General, to persuade him to be concluded in the same Peace: But he was so unsatisfy'd with the Assembly, that he declar'd he would have nothing to do

with them, or be comprehended in any Agreement they should make: But if the Marquess would consent to some Conditions he propos'd, he would willingly submit to the King's Authority in him. The Marquess was content to grant his own Conditions, having indeed a great Esteem of his Conduct, and knowing the Army under his Command to be better disciplin'd than any other of the *Irish*. But the Commissioners of Trust would by no means consent to these Conditions, and declar'd, if the Lord Lieutenant proceeded thereupon to an Agreement, it would be a direct Breach of the Articles of Peace; and thereupon *Owen O Neal* made that Conjunction with *Monke*, which was before remember'd; and about the very Time of the Defeat at *Rathmines*, reliev'd Sir *Charles Coote* in *Londonderry*, and therefore kept the King from being entirely possess'd of the Province of *Ulster*, which, but for that Action, would have been able to have sent strong Supplies of Men and Provision to the Assistance of the Marquess; and it is enough known, that when the Lord Lieutenant was in a hopeful Way to prevail against the Rebels, the Commissioners of Trust, and the principal Persons of Interest had no Mind to agree with *Owen O Neal*, out of an Animosity to his Person and Party, and in Confidence that the
Work

Work would be done without him, and others of his Party had as little Mind that he should be drawn to a Conjunction with the Marquess, because they knew if they were once engag'd under him, they should no more be able to seduce *O Neal* to join with them in any Action of Sedition; and upon these Reasons, the Persons who were deputed by the Commissioners to treat with him, and were known to have an Interest in him, on the one Side perswaded *Owen O Neal* that the Lord Lieutenant had broken the Articles of Peace, and he could have no Security that what should be promis'd should be perform'd to him, and on the other Side, inform'd the Marquess, that he insisted on such extravagant Propositions, that the Commissioners of Trust would never yield to them: But after the Arrival of *Cromwell*, and his Success against *Drogheda*, the Commissioners of Trust thought it high Time to unite with him, and *Owen O Neal* discern'd himself how unsafe he should be by the prevailing of the *English* Rebels, who notwithstanding the signal Service done by him for them, had publicly disown'd the Agreement which their own Officers had made with him, and thereupon, by the Interposition of *Daniel O Neal*, all Particulars were agreed between the Lord Lieutenant and him, with the Consent of the Commissioners

*The Lord
Lieutenant
treats with
O Neal.*

oners of Trust, about the Time that *Cromwell* was before *Wexford*, insomuch that he promis'd in a few Days to bring his Army and join with the Lord Lieutenant, which (tho' himself liv'd not to execute) was perform'd shortly after; so that about the Time that *Wexford* was taken, he was not without Hope, by the Advantage of a Pass, and cutting off his Provisions, to have made *Cromwell* return to *Dublin*, very hardly without losing a good Part of his Army; when on a sudden all the consider-

*The Towns
in Mun-
ster revolt
to the Eng-
lish Rebels.*

able Places in *Munster* revolted to the Rebels, and thereby gave them a safe Retreat, and free Passage, and necessary Provision of all they wanted, and Harbour for Ships to bring all to them that they could desire. The Lord *Inchequin* being so totally betrayed by those Officers whom he had trusted most, and had most oblig'd, that after he had in vain try'd to reduce them by Force, he could not without much Difficulty obtain the Liberty and Re-delivery of his Wife and Children to him. This Action in this fatal Juncture of Time, when the Streights *Cromwell* was in by the Winter and Want of Provisions had rais'd the Spirits of all Men, and when they look'd upon themselves as like to have, at least, some hopeful Encounter with him, was not a Loss or Blow, but a Dissolution of the whole Frame of their Hopes and Designs,

signs, and introduc'd a Spirit of Jealousy and Animosity into the Army, which no Dexterity or Interest of the Lord Lieutenant could extinguish or allay.

From the first Hour of the Peace, the *English* and *Irish* had not been without that Prejudice to each other, as gave the Marquess much Trouble, and they were rather incorporated by their Obedience and Submissions to the Authority and Pleasure of their supreme Commander, than united by the same Inclination and Affection to any publick End; insomuch, that before the Defeat at *Rathmines*, there were many of the *Irish* who much fear'd the swift Success of the Army, and apprehended the Lord Lieutenant's speedy reducing of *Dublin*, would give him such Power, as would make him more absolute than they desir'd to see him, and therefore were not sorry for the Mischief: On the other Side, the *English* were troubled to see the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Marquess so restrain'd and limited by the Articles, and that the Army was never recruited, disciplin'd, nor provided as it ought to be, solely by his Want of Power, and they had a very low Opinion of the Spirit and Courage of the *Irish*: But now upon this Defection in *Munster*, there was a Determination of all Confidence and Trust in each other: The *Irish* declar'd they suspected

pected all the *English* Nation, and made the Treachery of those who so infamously had betray'd their Trust, an unreasonable Argument for a Jealousy of those which remain'd in the Army, who being a Handful of gallant Men, and of most unshaken Fidelity to the King, were, indeed, in respect of their Courage and Experience in War, the Party to be principally depended upon in any Action or Encounter, and of which only the Enemy had had any Apprehension.

Though the Season of the Year, (for it was now towards the End of *November*) and the Sicknesh that was in the Rebels Army, made it high Time to betake themselves to their Winter Quarters, and such was their Resolution, yet *Cromwell* being well inform'd of the present Distemper amongst them who had the whole Strength the Lord Lieutenant was to trust to, and knowing that the Clergy had the full Dominion of all the incorporate Towns and Places of Importance, and would keep the People from submitting to those Expedients, which only would preserve them, he resolv'd to make an Attempt, and so march'd with his Army, consisting of about 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot, towards *Wexford*; this was when he encamp'd near *Thomastown*, within the Distance of two or three Miles of the Marquess, and with which

Cromwell
marches
towards
Wexford.

which they have since reproach'd him in some printed Discourses, as an Opportunity voluntarily omitted and declin'd, when he might have fought the Rebels upon an Advantage of Ground, and an Equality of Numbers; whereas the Truth is known to be that notwithstanding the Jealousy and Discomposure of the Humours in his Army, being upon the Time of the Defection and Inequality in Number and Quality of the Men (for the Rebels had double the Number of Horse, and were superior in Foot) the Marquess had a Resolution to give Battle to them, conceiving that these Disadvantages and extreme Hazards were reasonably to be preferr'd to those he foresaw he should be forc'd to undergo without Fighting: But the very Morning before they drew out in Battalia near *Thomastown*, upon the Information of several Persons who pretended they had seen the Enemy march towards *Kilkenny*, which was within the same Distance of the Place where they were encamp'd, as near to that where he was; and the Garrison being drawn out thence, to strengthen the Army for the Encounter then expected; the Marquess march'd with all the Horse with as much Speed as might be, to put himself between the Town and the Rebels, and so was absent when they discover'd them to be drawn up on a Hill, and if he had been there,

*Why the
Marquess
did not
fight
Crom-
well's
Army.*

there, there was a River between them, which (if he would have fought) he must have pass'd by a Bridge, where more than three could not have march'd abreast up an Hill; upon the steep Rising whereof the Rebels had planted themselves in Order of Battle; so that if all other Considerations had been away, he could not ever have thought it reasonable to have engag'd his Army upon so manifest Disadvantage.

Cromwell From hence *Cromwell* march'd to *Water-*
marches to ford, knowing well enough the Marquess
besiege Wa- could not keep the same Body he had to-
terford.

Lord Lieu- pell'd to suffer them to go to their Quarters:
 tenant However he was resolv'd not to leave *Wa-*
forc'd to *terford* to the Enemy, tho' they had so ob-
disband his stinately and disobediently refus'd to re-
Army, but stitute a Garrison, which would have pre-
provides vented their present Pressure; whereas they
for the De- were now closely besieged to their Walls
fence of on that Side of the Town which lay to
Waterford *Munster*, the other being open and to be
 relieved by the River *Shure*, which there
 severs *Leinster* from *Munster*, and washes
 the Walls of the Town on that Side. The
 Inhabitants seeing Destruction at their
 Doors, abated so much of their former
 Madness, as to be willing to receive a Sup-
 ply

ply of Soldiers, yet under a Condition, that they might be all of the old *Irish of Ulster*, who under the Command of *Owen O Neal* had oppos'd the King's Authority (and were now newly join'd with the Marquess) and in exprefs Terms refus'd any of their Neighbours and Kindred, the Confederate *Irish* Catholicks of *Munster* and *Leinster*, to the great Offence and Scandal of that Party of the Nation, which had been as zealous for their Religion as any. However, since there was no other Way to suppress them, the Lord Lieutenant was content to comply even with their Humour, and so choosing a strong Party of near 1500 Men, and putting them under the Command of Lieutenant General *Farrell*, who was the most acceptable to them, his Excellency himself march'd with them, and put them into the Town, which he had no sooner done, than *Cromwell* found it convenient to raise his Siege; and shortly after betook himself to his Winter-Quarters.

Cromwell obliged to raise the Siege.

It was the Month of *December*, and a Season, with Frost and Snow, as uneasy as that time of the Year in that cold Country hath at any time produced; yet the Marquess having left the Town, as he thought full of the Sense of the late Benefit and Preservation which they had receiv'd from him, and desiring to employ himself in fortifying *Waterford*, and providing it
bet-

better to resist the Enemy, before they should be able to make another Attempt upon it, and likewise in reducing *Rosse* and *Waterford*, and all other Places which the Rebels had taken and left but weakly mann'd and provided, he drew his Forces together, and leaving them on the other Side of the *Shure*, himself with a Train only of 40 or 50 Horse, consisting of his Friends and Servants, went into the Town, presuming that he should be able to persuade them to submit to join in whatsoever should manifestly appear for their own Benefit and Advantage: When he came into the Town, he found Lieutenant General *Farrell* engag'd in a Design to take *Passage*, a Place seiz'd on by *Cromwell*, when he retir'd from *Waterford*, and which was an inconvenient Neighbour to that City; Colonel *Wogan*, who had been seasonably sent by the Marquess into *Duncannon* (the first Governour placed there by the Confederate Catholics being ready to deliver it up to the Rebels) and who had with notable Courage defended it against *Cromwell*, and in the End, after the Loss of a great many of his Men, compell'd him to retire, had agreed to meet Lieutenant General *Farrell* at a Place and House appointed and together to fall upon *Passage*, though the Marquess had not been inform'd of the Form and Contrivance of the Design, yet he

*Design
upon Pas-
sage.*

he knew well enough what Interpretation would be made if his Interposition, or Command, or Waryness should declare against it; he was therefore very willing it should proceed; the Matter was well laid and carry'd with Secrecy, being hopeful enough; but Lieutenant General *Farrell* had not been march'd from the Town many Hours, when the Marquess discover'd from some Place of Prospect in the Town, a strong Party of Horse marching in good Order, the Way that led to *Passage*, which belonging to the Rebels, made him conclude that they had Notice of the Design; whereupon he presently sent for the Mayor of the Town, and shewing the inevitable Danger their whole Party was in, which was the only Strength against any Enterprize of the Enemy, (if they were not instantly reliev'd) requir'd him presently to send some Body over to the other Side of the River for transporting a Regiment or two of his Horse, with which he would endeavour himself to rescue them.

How apparent soever the Danger and Mischief was, and how visible and natural soever the Remedy, all the Commands and Entreaties he could use, could not prevail to get one Body, or their Consent that any of his Horse should be suffer'd to march through the Town, without which they could not go to their Relief. When he

L

had

*The Mar-
ques's re-
lieves Far-
rell, and
stops the
Pursuit of
the Rebels
with a
very small
Party.*

had in vain try'd all the Ways to convince and persuade them, he caus'd all his Friends and Servants (which, as was said before, amounted not to above forty or fifty) to mount their Horses, and with all imaginable Haste led them himself towards *Passage*, that he might at least discover, though he was not like to prevent, the Loss that was like to ensue. When he came within Sight of the Town, he could discern a Party of Foot marching with great Haste and Disorder towards him, being pursu'd by the Rebels Horse, who had even overtaken them, having fallen upon the Remainder, and either kill'd them upon the Place, or taken them Prisoners; tho' the Company that attended the Marques's was too few to encounter the Rebels with any considerable Hope, yet he drew up in that Manner on the Side of a Hill, that the Enemy imagining their Numbers to be more considerable, thought fit to lessen their Pace, and to send small Parties to discover, which being again entertain'd with the like Number in slight Skirmishes, the Foot as much improving their March, they were in the End by the Marques's frequent exposing his own Person to retard the Rebels Pursuit, preserv'd, and thus he brought back with him into the Town about half those which had march'd thence, and which had been infallibly destroy'd if he had not taken that des-

perate Course to redeem them, and he might as surely have recover'd all the others which were made Prisoners, and defeated all that Body of the Rebels, and consequently taken *Passage*, if the Citizens would have permitted his Horse to have been transported over the River, and to have march'd through the Place.

Unseasonable Obstinacy of the Citizens of Waterford.

The Marquess was by this last Experiment, sufficiently convinc'd how impossible it would be to persuade the Town (which was entirely govern'd by the Clergy) to suffer any Part of his Army to enter into it, which in many Respects, and especially for finishing their Works and Fortifications, had been necessary on the other Side; without the Countenance of the Town, and bringing his Army over the River, it was as impossible to prosecute his Design for the Reduction of *Passage*, and those Places mention'd before. He desir'd therefore no more of them, than that they would be content that his Army might for a little Time be hutted under their Walls, where they should receive their Provision and Pay duly out of the Country, and so should be a Security and Benefit to the Town, without the least Damage in any Degree: But this Proposition found no more Regard than the former, and instead of consulting the first Circumstances to comply with so just and necessary a Demand of the

The Lord Lieutenant's Designs obstructed by the Influence of the Popish Clergy.

King's Lieutenant, it was propos'd in the Council of the Town, to seize on his Person, and to fall on all that belong'd to him, as an Enemy; which Advice met with no other Reprehension, than that for the present the major Part did not consent to it. Of all which, when the Marquess was fully inform'd, he thought it Time to depart from thence, and leave them to their own Imaginations, and so march'd away with his Army, which after this Indignity it was a Thing impossible to keep together, all the Troops removing to those Quarters where there were shewn some Means for their Subsistence; himself went to his Castle at *Kilkenny*, from whence he dispatch'd an Account to the King, (who was then in the Island of *Jersey*) of the true State of his Affairs in that Kingdom, by which his Majesty might see how much his Rebels, who disclaim'd any Subjection to him, prevail'd against his Authority, and how it was equally contemn'd, and deluded, and disregarded by his Subjects, who made all the Profession of Obedience and Duty to him, which was a Method those ill Times had made his Majesty too well acquainted with, and from this Time (which was in the Month of *December*, 1649) the Marquess never did, or could draw together into one Body, a Number of 500; what Endeavours he us'd to do it, we will mention in Order hereafter.

*His Army
separates.*

As

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant came to *Kilkenny*, he consulted with the Commissioners of Trust (without whose Approbation and Consent he could do no Act that was of Importance) what Remedies to apply to the Disorder and Confusion which spread itself over all their Affairs: They had still been Witnesses of all his Actions, of his unwearied Pains and Industry, and of the little Fruit that was reap'd by it: How his Orders and Commands, and their own, had been neglected and disobey'd in those Particulars, without which an Army could not be brought or kept together: How those Places, which the Rebels had possess'd themselves of, had been, for the most Part, lost by their own obstinate Refusal to receive such Assistance from him, as was absolutely necessary for their Preservation; and yet they had rais'd most unreasonable Imputations and Reproaches on him, as if he had fail'd in their Defence and Relief: They had seen the wonderful and insupportable Wants and Necessities the Army had always undergone, and knew very well how all Warrants had been disobey'd for the bringing in of Money or Provision for the Supply thereof, and yet their Country was full of Clamour and Discontent for the Payment of Taxes, and being exhausted with Contributions, he desir'd them therefore to examine where any

*Lord Lieutenant ex-
postulates
with the
Commissioners of
Trust.*

Misdemeanours had in Truth been, that they might be punish'd; and from whence the Scandal and Calumnies proceeded, that the Minds of the People might be inform'd and compos'd. The Commissioners had, for the most part, very diligently and faithfully intended the Service from the Beginning, according to the Trust repos'd in them, yet there were some among them too able and dexterous in Business, who always malign'd the Person of the Marquess, or rather his Religion, and the Authority he represented, and whatsoever Professions they made of Respect to him, still maintain'd a close Intelligence and Correspondence with those of the Clergy, who were the most disaffected to his Majesty's Interest, and who from the Misfortune at *Rathmines*, had underhand fomented and cherish'd all the ill Humours and Jealousies of the People.

Commissioners Advice to the Marquess.

The Commissioners advis'd the Marquess, as the best Expedient to satisfy the Country, that Orders might be sent to them to elect some few Persons among themselves, to send to *Kilkenny* as Agents to represent those Grievances which were most heavy on them, and to offer any Desire that might promote their Security, alledging that they could by this Means be clearly inform'd how groundless their Jealousies were, and the Artifice would be discover'd which had been

been us'd to corrupt their Affections; tho' the Marquess well knew how tedious and inconvenient this Course might prove, and rather advance all the scandalous and seditious Designs, than suppress them; yet he foresaw as well, that if it were declin'd by him, he should have been unavoidably reproach'd with not being willing to be inform'd of the just Grievances of the People, and consequently not to remedy them; and therefore without giving Countenance to any such irregular Convention, by any formal Summons of his own, he gave way that the Commissioners should write their Letters; and accordingly the Agents ^{Agents} did come thither from several Countries, ^{from the Countries} to communicate and present their Complaints and Desires together in ^{to represent} *January* ^{pretended} following, and the Lord Lieutenant receiv'd them with good Countenance, and wish'd them freely to consult together as soon as they could, to present whatever they had to say to him, to which they should be sure to receive a speedy Answer.

In the mean Time the Bishops and Clergy of themselves, and without any Authority, receiv'd or desir'd from the Lord Lieutenant, assembled at *Clanmacnois*, upon the River *Shannon*, upon whose Counsels ^{Assembly} and Conclusions all Mens Eyes were more ^{of the Irish Clergy,} fix'd than upon what the Agents should

represent at *Kilkenny*, it being very evident, that notwithstanding all the whole Catholick Nobility of the Kingdom, and all the principal Persons of Quality and Interest heartily concurr'd with the Marquess, and the Commissioners of Trust, for the most Part, were as jealous for the Execution and Observation of the Articles of Peace, and that the same might be render'd useful to the Nation; yet the Clergy and religious Persons had found Means to obstruct that Union, which was necessary for the carrying on of the Work, and especially had that Influence upon the corporate Towns, that no Garrison should be receiv'd there, or such Submission paid to the Lord Lieutenant or the Council's Orders as was essential to their own Defence, and to the making War against the Rebels; so that all Men were in Suspense what would be the Issue of that Meeting; and it cannot be deny'd, but that the Bishops and that Part of the Clergy which were best affected, and knew the Ways that were most conducing to the Happiness of their Country, prevail'd so far, that the Conclusions which were there made, were full of Respect to the King's Service, and full of wholesome Advice and Counsel to the People: They declar'd *How vain a Thing it was to imagine that there could be any Security for the Exercise of their Religion, for*
the

Their pernicious Influence on the People.

the Enjoyment of their Fortunes, or for the Preservation of their Lives, by any Treaty with, or Promise from the English Rebels; That they abhorr'd all Factions, Animosities, and Divisions which rag'd among themselves, to the Hindrance of the publick Service, and therefore enjoyn'd all the Clergy, of what Quality soever, and Ecclesiastical Persons, by Preaching, and all other Means, to incline the People to an Union of Affection, and to the laying aside all Jealousies of each other, and unanimously to concur in opposing the common Enemy, and appointing the Bishops and other Persons to proceed with great Severity against those Religious and Spiritual Persons, who should underhand cherish and foment those Jealousies and Divisions: In a Word, they said so much and so well, that when the Lord Lieutenant was inform'd of it, and saw the Extract of their Determinations, he conceiv'd some Hope that it might indeed make some good Impression on the People, and produce a very good Effect.

The Agents from the Country spent some Time at *Kilkenny*, in preparing Heads of such Grievances as they thought fit to present to the Lord Lieutenant, who call'd still upon them to dispatch: But upon Conference with the gravest of the Commissio-
 ners, they found how groundless all those Com-plaints of Grievances found to be groundless.
 Slanders were, which they believ'd before they came thither, and so could not agree
 on

on any Particulars to complain of; besides, they met with some Disturbance there; *Cromwell* knowing how the small Forces were scatter'd abroad, march'd with a strong Party towards the Town, with which the Agents were so alarm'd, that they would no longer stay there, but desir'd the Marquess to let them adjourn to *Ennis*, in the County of *Clare*, which they did, and though they met there, yet they never agreed on any Draught of any Grievances to be presented, though they made that ill Use of their Meeting to propagate the Scandals and Imputations groundlessly rais'd, and to inflame the People by the same Untruths. Notwithstanding this Alarm and Danger the Lord Lieutenant's Person and the Town was in, all the Power and Authority he had could not in ten Days draw five hundred Men together to resist the Enemy; however, the Town's Men appear'd so ready and prepar'd for their Defence, and the Marquess putting all his own Friends and Servants on Horseback, with which he made a Troop of about an hundred, look'd with so good a Countenance upon the Enemy, that he retir'd, and shortly after the Lord Lieutenant remitted the Charge of the Place and the Country adjacent to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and went himself upon a more important Business to *Lymerick*.

The Lord Lieutenant with an inconsiderable Force, obliges Cromwell to draw off from Killenny.

Though

Though the Rebels (by the Faction and Obstinacy of the People, who could not hitherto be induc'd to make reasonable Provision for Defence) had prevail'd very far, and possess'd themselves of very good Places without any considerable Opposition, yet there remain'd a good Part of the Kingdom free from their Power; the whole Province of *Connaught* was still entire, and the Cities of *Lymerick* and *Gallway* in Possession of the Catholics, which might be made so strong, as not to fear any Strength the Rebels would bring before them, and are so situated for all Advantages of the Sea, that they might (being well supply'd) maintain a War against the whole Kingdom; there were Men enough, only wanted Order and Resolution to preserve themselves. The Marquess resolv'd to begin with *Lymerick*, and if he could dispose that City to a full Obedience, and to receive a Garrison, he made no Question, not only to fortify it against any Attempt of the Enemy, but under the Countenance of it, and by the Security of the River *Shannon*, to quarter his Troops, raise Contribution for their Support, discipline his Men, and in effect, by the Spring so recruit his Army, that he might give Battle to the Rebels where-ever he should engage: And to this Purpose he went himself thither from *Kilkenny*, in the Month of *January*,

The Progress of the English Rebels owing to the Divisions among the Irish.

Lord Lieutenant endeavours to preserve Lymerick.

nuary, hoping that the good Resolution of the Bishops at *Clanmacnois* had well prepar'd the People to comply with him. But when he came thither, albeit he was receiv'd with outward Demonstrations of Respect, he found their Temper not such as he desir'd, whatsoever the Bishops had declar'd; the Clergy had observ'd none of those Directions, nor were any in so much Credit, as they who behav'd themselves quite contrary to those Determinations; and if no Way could be found out to allay this Spirit, all his Endeavours, he saw, would be without any Fruit; whereupon he resolv'd to try whether that Part of the Clergy which wish'd well to the Kingdom, could use as efficacious Means to preserve it, as the others, who desir'd Confusion, did to destroy it: And upon Advice with the principal Persons of the Catholick Nobility, and with the Commissioners of Trust, he did, about the End of *February*, by Letters, desire as many of the Catholick Bishops as were within any convenient Distance, to meet him at *Lymerick*, which they accordingly did.

*Conference
with the
Commissioners of
Trust.*

When they came thither, he conferr'd with them, in the Presence of the Commissioners of Trust, with all Frankness, upon the distracted and disjoynted State of Affairs, and freely told them, *That without the People might be brought to have a full*

full Confidence in him, and yield perfect Obedience to him, and without the City of Lymerrick might be persuaded to receive a Garrison, and obey his Orders, it was not to be hop'd that he could do any Thing against the Rebels: He desir'd them therefore, if they had a Mistrust of him, or a Dislike of his Government, that they would as clearly let him know it, assuring them, that such was his Desire of the People's Preservation, that there was nothing in his Power consistent with his Duty to the King, and agreeable with his Honour, that he would not do at their Desire for that End, letting them see withal, that his Continuance with the Name, and not with the Power of Lord Lieutenant could bring nothing but Ruin upon the Nation, as well as Dishonour upon him; so that he propounded unto them in plain Terms, either that they would procure a due Obedience to be yielded unto him, or propose some other Way, by his quitting the Kingdom, how it might be preserv'd.

After Consultation together, they returned with many Expressions of Respect and Affection to his Person, and faithfully promis'd to endeavour all that Obedience he desir'd, withal presenting him with a Paper of Advice, which contain'd (as they said) certain Remedies for removing the Discontents and Disgusts of the People, and for the advancing his Majesty's Service;

amongst which they propos'd, *That a Privy Council might be framed by the Peers and others the Natives of the Kingdom, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to sit daily with him, and determine all the weighty Affairs of the Country by their Council, and many other Particulars concerning the raising of Men, and conducting the War; to every one of which the Marquess gave them an Answer in Writing; amongst which he told them, That he could not understand how the present Distresses of the Kingdom could proceed from Want of a Privy Council, or how the framing of such a Council could advantage the Management of the War, which by the Articles of Peace was to be done by the Commissioners of Trust, with whom he did always communicate Matters of Importance; and therefore, he could not think fit unnecessarily to presume upon doing a Thing for which he had neither Power nor Precedent, the Nomination of all Persons to be of the Privy Council, being always reserv'd by the King to himself; yet rather than he should be wanting in any Thing that was in his Power to satisfy the People, he wish'd that the particular Acts which the Privy Council had heretofore done, and were now necessary to be done, might be instanced and so far forth, as should appear necessary and fit, he would qualify Persons free from just Exceptions with such; and so answer'd all their Propositions, that they seem'd to be very well*

well satisfy'd therewith, and thereupon publish'd a Declaration, in which they profess'd, *That they did and would endeavour to root out of Mens Hearts all Jealousies and sinister Opinions, conceiv'd either against his Execution, or the present Government, and they entreated him to give them further Instructions, declaring, That they were not deterred by the Want of the expected Success in the Affairs of the Kingdom, but rather animated to give further Onsets, and to try all other possible Ways, and did faithfully promise, that no Industry or Care should be wanting in them to receive and execute his Directions.*

When the Marquess propos'd to the Commissioners of Trust, that *Lymerick* and other Places might be garrison'd, he offer'd them the Names of three Persons of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and of eminent Quality, Reputation, and Fortunes, that out of them they might choose one for the Command of *Lymerick*, but resolving after to call this Assembly of the Bishops thither, and to be there himself in Person, he deferr'd the Proceeding in it further till then, that with their own Advice such a Person might be chosen for that important Charge, that should be beyond any Possibility of a just Exception from that Corporation; now he took all the imaginary Pains, and descended to all the Arts of Persuasion, to satisfy those Citizens, who he perceiv'd
were

*Ingrati-
tude of the
Irish to the
Lord Lieu-
tenant.*

were the most leading Men, of the Necessity of their speedy receiving a Governour, and a Garrison, for the Preservation of their Interest, and whatsoever would be of Value with any People: But he was so far from prevailing with them, that they perform'd not those outward Civilities and Respects to him, which had been in no other Place deny'd. The Officers who commanded the City Guards, neither came to him for Orders, nor imparted them to him. No Officer of the Army, or other Person, could without special Leave of the Mayor (which was often very hardly obtain'd) be admitted to come to his Presence, to receive his Commands, and Directions for the resisting and opposing the Rebels, who at that Time prevail'd in the very County of *Lymerrick* itself; and to publish the Contempt they had of the King's Authority, they committed to Prison the Viscount *Killmallock*, a Catholick Peer of the Realm, and an Officer of the Army, (the Lord Lieutenant himself being upon the Place,) for no other Reason than for quartering one Night some few Horse-men under his Command, by the Marquess's own Orders, within the Liberty of the City.

All this being done so contrary to the Injunctions which the Bishops had publish'd for the Direction of the People, and at a Time when they were assembled there,
and

and when he despaired of persuading them to what so properly concern'd their own Interest, the Marquess thought it would not be agreeable to the Honour of his Master, to remain any longer in the Place, where such Affronts and Contempts were put upon his Authority; and yet being willing still to expect some good Effects from the Observation and Discretion of the Bishops, who could not but discern what Ruin must immediately attend such Licence and Disobedience, he appointed all the said Bishops, and as many more as would be persuaded, to come thither, and the Commissioners, to meet him at *Logh-reah*.

When they appear'd at *Loghbreah*, the Marquess represented to their Memories, ^{*Representation of the Lord Lieutenant to the Irish.*} what they before had been Witnesses of, and observed at *Lymerick* the Neglects he had to the Irish. born there, and desir'd them to remove these causeless Distrusts, which (being maliciously infus'd into the People's Minds) did slacken, if not wholly withdraw their Obedience from his Majesty's Authority; wisht them to consider how impossible it was for him with Honour, or any Hope of Success, to contend against a powerful, absolutely obey'd, and plentifully supply'd, Enemy; himself being under such domestick Disadvantages, Distrusts, and Disobedience; and concluded that if the Consequence of the Service could not induce them

to be all of one Mind, in putting a Garrison into Lymerick, or if (being of one Mind) they could not induce the City to Obedience and Submission to their Determination, he could no longer entertain a Hope of giving any Check to the Enemy, and would thereupon consider how otherways to dispose of himself.

Both the Bishops and the Commissioners were really (or at least seem'd) so entirely convinc'd of the Necessity of erecting that Garrison, and putting that City into a better Posture of Defence than at that Time it appear'd to be in, that the Commissioners in whom that Trust was repos'd by the Articles of Peace, order'd it to be done, and sent two of their Members, with their Order, to *Lymerick*, and with a Letter to the Mayor to conform thereunto, and the Bishops wrote to the Arch-bishop of *Castel* and the Bishop of *Lymerick*, desiring them *To use their utmost Endeavours to incline the City to submit to the Direction of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Commissioners of Trust*; and having done this they departed to those Places they thought fit, to dispose all the People (as they profess'd) to all Acts of Conformity and Obedience: But the Commissioners in a short Time return'd from *Lymerick*, without having in any Degree prevail'd with them to receive either a Governour or Garrison, or to conform themselves to any Orders that the
 Lord

Lord Lieutenant or the Commissioners should send to them, otherways than agreed with their own Inclinations; instead of making Choice of any of those three who were nominated to them for their Governour, all of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, of very considerable Interests in the Kingdom, and of great Reputation, (upon the Matter) declar'd, that they would keep the Power in their own Hands; and for receiving of a Garrison, they propos'd some Particulars, what Men of the *Irish* Catholicks, and what they would not, what Course should be taken for the Support of them, and through whose Hands it should pass, and many other Things directly contrary to the Articles of Peace which had been with Solemnity proclaim'd in the City, and unto which they had profess'd all Submission.

All this Perverseness, Obstinacy, and Ingratitude could not yet extinguish the Affection and Compassion which the Marquess had towards them, and he clearly discern'd that it proceeded not from the Spirit that was included and confin'd within those Walls, but that it was the same that was working generally in other Places; he was well enough satisfy'd that they that were most passionately possess'd with it, had not Correspondence with the *English* Rebels, nor had a Mind to be subjected to their

Power; he was willing therefore to believe that they had fancy'd and imagin'd some Expedient to themselves for their own Preservation, which could not fall within his Comprehension, and that they might have contracted some Prejudice to his Person, or to his Religion, which might keep them from such an Union and Confidence as they might be reduc'd unto under some Catholick, who might be as zealous to preserve his Majesty's Interest, and to recover the Kingdom to his Obedience; and he was the more confirm'd in this Apprehension, by revolving the several Passages which had happen'd at his being at *Lymerick*, during the Time that they seem'd to pay him much Respect; the Lord *Inchequin* had been then with him, towards whom they had observ'd the Marque's had a great Confidence and Friendship, (as he well deserv'd) and some principal Persons of the City with them: Some of the Bishops had, under a great Confidence and Trust, (in Shew) repair'd to the Lord Lieutenant, and declar'd unto him, that all that Indisposition and Waywardness in the People, proceeded from a Prejudice they had against the Lord *Inchequin*, who had always, they said, prosecuted the War against them with the most Rigour and Animosity, and the Places and Persons that he had most at his Devotion, having treacherously revolted

revolted to the Rebels, the People were not confident of him, and jealous that he had too great a Confidence in the Marquess; so that if he would dismiss that Lord, and discharge the Troops that yet remain'd under his Command, (and of which some frequently ran away to the Rebels) not only the City, but the whole Nation would, as one Man, be at his Disposal.

Whilst these Insinuations were thus practis'd to the Lord Lieutenant, other Persons (and those as leading Men with an equal Number of Bishops) apply'd themselves to the Lord *Inchequin*, and told him, *That while the Affairs were conducted by the Marquess of Ormond they expected no good Fortune; that they look'd upon him as not of their Nation, and one so solicitous for the English Interest, and for all English Men, that he regarded nothing of theirs; That his Lordship was of the most ancient Extraction of Ireland, and under that Notion, look'd upon with great Affection and Reverence by the Irish, and if the Government and Command were exercis'd by him, there would be such an Obedience paid to him, that he could in a short Time grow strong enough to oppose the Enemy and recover his Country.* When these two Lords had communicated each to other (as they quickly did) the excellent Address that had been made to

them, and agreed together how to draw on and encourage those Proposers, that they might discover as much of their Purposes as was possible, they easily found their Design was to be rid of them both, but proceeded with those Disrespects which are mention'd before.

The Marquess having sadly consider'd all this, and that nothing might remain unattempted by him, that he could possibly imagine might tend in any Degree for the Recovery or Preservation of the Kingdom, he appointed two Meetings to be at *Logh-reeh*, and summon'd thither all the Catholick Bishops, as many of the Nobility as could with any Security come thither, the chief Gentlemen of Quality in the Parts adjacent, and several Officers of the Army, which being met together, he gave them, in the first place, an Answer in Writing to the Grievances which had been presented to him at the former Meeting, in which he

*Lord Lieutenant's
Answer to
the Irish
pretended
Grievances.*

made it evident, How much they were mistaken in much of the Matters of Fact, and that what was really amiss proceeded from themselves, and their not observing the Orders and Rules they were bound by, and could not be prevented by him, who consented to all the good and practicable Ways propos'd by themselves for remedying the like for the future: He remember'd them of the Pains he had taken, of the Propositions he had made, of the Orders

he

he had given, and of the Neglects, Disobedience, and Affronts he had receiv'd, by which alone the Rebels had made that Progress in their Success: He shew'd them a Letter he had lately receiv'd from his Master the King, bearing Date the Second of February, from Jersey, in answer to one he had written to his Majesty in December, to give him an Account of the State of the Kingdom, and Carriage of the City of Waterford (then newly) to him, which is set down at large before; upon Perusal whereof his Majesty had in his Letter signify'd his Pleasure to him, That in Case of the Continuance of that Disobedience in the People, and Contempt of his Authority, his Lieutenant should withdraw himself and his Majesty's Authority out of that Kingdom: He told them, that having receiv'd so little Effect of all the Pains he had taken, and so ill Returns for all the Affection he had shew'd them, he resolv'd to make Use He resolves to leave Ireland. *speedily of the Liberty the King had given him, as to his own Person, which he found was render'd so unacceptable to the People, yet if they could propose to him any Way how he might deposite the King's Authority, in such a Manner as it might not be expos'd to the same Affronts it had receiv'd in him, and might be apply'd to the Preserving of the People, and the Recovering of the Kingdom, he would gladly ratify them, and would heartily wish that they might receive that Happiness*
M 4
by

by his Absence, which they could not have by his Presence, and to that Purpose desir'd them to consult seriously and maturely among themselves.

*The Irish,
concern'd
at this Re-
solution,
address
the Lord
Lieute-
nant.*

Upon this, all the Bishops, Nobility, and Commissioners of Trust, with the principal Gentlemen, express'd very much Trouble at the Resolution the Marquess had taken, and on the last Day of *April*, in the Year 1650, made an Address to him in Writing, under their several Hands, in which (among other Things) they told him, *That they conceiv'd themselves in Duty bound, for his better Information of the Inclination of the Nation, humbly to present to him, that however his Excellency might not have met a ready Concurrence to some Proposals made for the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, occasion'd by some mistaken Understanding in some few Persons and Places, yet the Country generally, and the Nation in it, as they had already, by the expending their Substance in an extraordinary Measure, and their Lives upon all Occasions, abundantly testify'd their sincere and immoveable Affections to preserve his Majesty's Rights and Interest entire to him, so they would for the future, with like Chearfulness, endeavour to overcome all Difficulties which the Enemies Power and Success had laid in their Way, and that they who were (and they doubted not but the same was the general Sense of the whole Nation) would, with all*

Care

Care and Earnestness, endeavour, not only to conserve in the People such their good Inclination, but if any Person or Places should be refractory, or decline that Obedience which is due to his Majesty's Authority, they would contribute their best Endeavours to reduce them, and to make them conformable unto the same; and after many other specious Professions and Protestations of their Zeal to obey his Excellency, they humbly besought him, To appoint Commanders in the several Provinces, to whom those of his Majesty's Subjects (who by the Excitements of the Clergy were ready with all Affection to undergo that Care, should be encourag'd to take up Arms) might repair for the Opposing of the Power of the Rebels.

How respective soever this Address was, and how solemnly soever it was presented, the Lord Lieutenant was resolv'd not to be long satisfy'd with those general Declarations of their good Designs and Purposes, and therefore the very next Day he sent them a Letter containing what he would expect from them, which for the more clear Manifestation of the whole Proceedings, shall be here faithfully inserted; as was in these Words.

‘ **A**FTER our hearty Commenda-
 ‘ tions, in answer to your Let-
 ‘ ter of the last of April, we think fit to
 ‘ put you in Mind, that upon communica-
 ‘ ting

*The Lord
 Lieutenant's Let-
 ter to the
 Assembly
 at Lough-
 reah.*

‘ ting to you his Majesty’s Letter of
‘ the second of *February*, We then acquaint-
‘ ted you at large with what had pass’d at
‘ *Waterford*, which being by us represen-
‘ ted to his Majesty, occasion’d the send-
‘ ing the said Letter; as also that we found
‘ the City of *Lymerrick* had taken exam-
‘ ple thereby, to affront and contemn his
‘ Majesty’s Authority in us, and from us,
‘ by the Consent of the Representative of
‘ the confederate Catholics, at the Con-
‘ clusion of the Peace, derived to the
‘ Commissioners; both which you pass
‘ over with an Extenuation of those Dis-
‘ obediences, and (by attributing them to
‘ some Misunderstanding) you seem, in a
‘ Manner to excuse them; whereas we
‘ had reason to expect that (suitable to
‘ your general Professions) you would
‘ have resent’d the particular Depart-
‘ ment of those Places, and propos’d to
‘ us how the Contrivers thereof might
‘ be brought to Justice, and reduc’d to
‘ perfect Obedience: For as your Profes-
‘ sion and earnest Endeavours, not only
‘ to conserve in the People the good In-
‘ clinations you find in them, but if any
‘ Person or Place should be refractory,
‘ or decline that perfect Obedience due
‘ to his Majesty’s Authority, you will
‘ contribute your best Endeavours to re-
‘ duce them, and make them conforma-
‘ ble

‘ ble to the same, cannot be evidenc’d
‘ or made good by you, but by applying
‘ those Endeavours where we give you
‘ undeniable Instances of Refractoriness
‘ and Disobedience ; so there can be no
‘ Instance of it more pregnant, or (if it
‘ be persisted in) more destructive to his
‘ Majesty and the Nation than that of
‘ *Lymerick* to the immediate reducing
‘ whereof.

‘ We therefore thought, and do now
‘ expect, you would effectually apply your-
‘ selves ; we are well satisfy’d the Genera-
‘ lity of the Country and Nation, who have
‘ given the Proofs you mention of their
‘ meer Affection to preserve his Majesty’s
‘ Rights entire to him, will persevere
‘ therein, if those upon whose Examples
‘ and Advice they very much guide their
‘ Resolutions, be active and industrious to
‘ lead and exhort them thereunto ; but
‘ we must withal let you know, that we
‘ cannot hope that those good Affections
‘ and Alacrities, in Defence of his Ma-
‘ jesty’s and your own Interest, can be
‘ successful, in the City of *Lymerick*, if
‘ all other Cities and Towns, be not in
‘ perfect Obedience, and immediately put
‘ under a military Government, for mili-
‘ tary Matters, and thereby into a Condi-
‘ tion of Defence and Offence, which to
‘ conceal from the People, were toward
‘ them

‘ them as great a Treachery, as it would
‘ be in us a vain Rashness (without a just
‘ Obedience first gained) to attempt op-
‘ posing the Strength and Power of the
‘ Rebels: And therefore we must and do
‘ declare, that as the Refractoriness of the
‘ City of *Waterford* hath, more than any
‘ human Means, contributed to all the
‘ Success of the Rebels in these Parts, since
‘ our being at *Waterford* and as the Want
‘ of a strong Garrison in *Limerick*, (which
‘ we long since desir’d might be put there,
‘ but we could not prevail) have been the
‘ greatest visible Means whereby the said
‘ Rebels have with small or no Assistance
‘ gain’d or destroy’d the County of *Lyme-*
‘ *rick* and other Parts adjacent, so the en-
‘ tire Loss of the Kingdom to his Majesty,
‘ and the Destruction of the Nation,
‘ (which we have no Hope to prevent,
‘ but by sufficiently and strongly garrison-
‘ ing and fortifying the said City) must be
‘ imputed to that City if it shall persist
‘ therein, and so whosoever encourages
‘ and connives with them therein, as to
‘ the Distrust and Jealousies of the Peo-
‘ ple, occasion’d (as you say) for Want of
‘ Success in Service, the Sense of their
‘ Sufferings, whether from the Enemy or
‘ otherwise, cannot so reasonably be impu-
‘ ted to any human Cause, as to the Want
‘ of garrisoning the Army in the principal
‘ Towns

‘ Towns and Cities, wherein we cannot
‘ yet prevail, nor ever could, till by the
‘ Enemies lying at one End of the Town,
‘ we were (not without articling and con-
‘ ditioning) to put such Men as we could
‘ then get, in at another End; for by the
‘ Want of garrisoning the Army, and by
‘ being forc’d to quarter it at large, it was
‘ not possible to have them exercis’d,
‘ which (when they were brought toge-
‘ ther) render’d them worse than so many
‘ new rais’d Men, by how much they
‘ had contracted a licentious Liberty, and
‘ an Habit of Rapine and Disobedience;
‘ nor could we prevent Fraud in Musters,
‘ or reasonably exact a strict Account
‘ from the Officers, of Men so scatter’d,
‘ who when they should be employ’d up-
‘ on Service, were forc’d, or pretended
‘ a Necessity (wherein we could not dis-
‘ prove them) to range the Country to get
‘ in Means that should enable them to
‘ serve.

‘ Also their Apprehension for Want of
‘ Redress of their Grievances; we under-
‘ stand not what Grievances was there
‘ meant, unless those deliver’d to us by
‘ the Arch-bishop of *Tuam*, on the first
‘ Day of *April*; for the other Grievances,
‘ though we long expected and desir’d
‘ them, we never saw any, save a Paper
‘ given to us on the 12th of *March*, at
‘ *Lymerick*,

‘ *Lymerick*, which, for the Forgery and
 ‘ Calumnies, and other misbecoming Pas-
 ‘ sages contain’d in it, was, as such, dis-
 ‘ own’d by the Clergy then met: And
 ‘ those given us of the first of *April*,
 ‘ we return you herewith such Answer,
 ‘ as (considering the Generality of them)
 ‘ is possible for us to give.

‘ We have already, with the Advice of
 ‘ the Commissioners and others, (we be-
 ‘ lieve) with the Approbation of such of
 ‘ the Bishops as were present, appointed
 ‘ the Earl of *Castlehaven* to command the
 ‘ Forces in *Leinster* and in *Munster*: With
 ‘ the like Advice and Approbation, we
 ‘ have employ’d Col. *David Roche* to com-
 ‘ mand, for a necessary Expedition; be-
 ‘ sides, there is always on the Place there,
 ‘ a general Officer that will readily receive
 ‘ and employ any that shall be prevail’d
 ‘ with to take Arms, as is promis’d; and
 ‘ in Case we find a fit Obedience and Re-
 ‘ ception from the City of *Lymerick*, we
 ‘ shall be ready in Person to receive and
 ‘ conduct such Forces in the said Province.

‘ In *Ulster*, in Pursuance of an Agree-
 ‘ ment made with that Province, we give
 ‘ our Commission to the Arch-bishop of
 ‘ *Clogher*, and in *Connaght*, the Lord Mar-
 ‘ quess of *Clanrickard* commands the Army:
 ‘ we know no Use, to which any Money
 ‘ rais’d upon the People hath been em-
 ‘ ploy’d

‘ ploy’d, but to the Maintenance of the
 ‘ Forces; if you do, we shall be glad to
 ‘ be therein informed, to the End that
 ‘ any past Misapplication thereof may be
 ‘ examin’d and punish’d, and the like pre-
 ‘ vented for the future.

‘ To conclude, we seriously recommend
 ‘ to your Consideration, the procuring
 ‘ such Obedience to his Majesty’s Authori-
 ‘ ty in general and in particular from the
 ‘ City of *Lymerick*, as may enable and
 ‘ encourage us with Honour and Success,
 ‘ according to our Desires, to use our ut-
 ‘ most Industry, and to encounter all
 ‘ Hazard for the Defence of the Kingdom
 ‘ and the Nation, against the Tyranny
 ‘ that will certainly be exercised upon
 ‘ them, and the insupportable Slavery
 ‘ they will be subject to if the Rebels
 ‘ prevail; and so we bid you heartily
 ‘ farewell.

Your very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

*From Loghreah, the
 1st. of May, 1650.*

*Endors’d for the Arch-bishop, Nobility,
 Bishops, and Commissioners authoriz’d
 by Us, in Pursuance of the Articles of
 Peace, and others assembled at Loghreah.
 Upon*

*Address on
the said
Letter.*

Upon Receipt of this Letter they made another Address to the Marquess in Writing, in which they said, ' They were ' very far from intending by any Expression ' they had used, to excuse that Deport- ' ment of the City of *Lymerick*, nor could ' any man (they said) more feelingly than ' they, resent the personal Disrespect to- ' wards his Excellency while he was late- ' ly in that City, whereof they had in ' their Letters, then ready to be sent by ' a Committee employ'd by them to that ' Corporation, taken Notice, and they did ' hope that by their Deportment they ' would merit to have it understood, that ' it proceeded from Ignorance rather than ' Malice, and that concerning the garri- ' soning of the City, the Clergy (that had ' met lately there) and the Commissioners ' of Trust, had written very effectually to ' them, and employ'd two of the Com- ' missioners of Trust thither, to solicit ' their Compliance to his Excellency, and ' to represent to them the Danger and ' Prejudice that would ensue their Refrac- ' toriness; and tho' it had not taken ' that Effect with them which was expect- ' ed yet they humbly offer'd his Excellency, ' that a second Essay was to be made, ' and his Excellency's farther Commands ' to be sent thither, whereunto, if they ' should not listen, they promis'd, as much

' as

‘ as in them lay, that they would in their
‘ respective Degrees and Quality, according
‘ to their respective Powers, so far as should
‘ be thought fit and necessary upon Consi-
‘ deration had, of what had been proposed
‘ hitherto between his Excellency and the
‘ Commissioners of Trust and them, concern-
‘ ing the garrisoning of that City corporate,
‘ to reclaim them, and bring them to per-
‘ fect Obedience; humbly desiring, that
‘ what Resolution soever should be taken by
‘ that City, yet that his Excellency would
‘ be pleased, not to impute it to any Disaf-
‘ fection in them, or Want of Zeal in the Na-
‘ tion to advance his Majesty’s Service; and
‘ in Regard, the transacting of that Business
‘ might take up some Time; *it was humbly*
‘ *desir’d*, that his Excellency would be pleased
‘ to use his immediate Care, for forwarding
‘ of the Service, and settling of Affairs in o-
‘ ther Parts of the Kingdom, answerable to
‘ the present Danger and Condition wherein
‘ it was, that there might be some visible
‘ Opposition to the growing Power of the
‘ Enemy.’ At the same Time that they sent
this Address to the Marquess, signed by the
Name of the Bishops and Commissioners,
(which was in the Beginning of *May 1650.*)
they likewise sent the Archbishop of *Tuam*,
and Sir *Lucas Dillon*, to *Lymerick*, with
as reasonable and pressing Letters to that
Corporation for receiving a Garrison.

N

This

*The Mar-
ques al-
ters his
Resolution
of leaving
Ireland.*

This Demeanour in the Assembly, and all the visible Results of their Consultation, together with the deep Expressions of Loyalty to the King, and of Respect to his Lieutenant, prevail'd so far with the Mar-ques, that he again declined his Purpose of quitting the Kingdom; and thereupon he dismiss'd a Frigate that he had bought, and fitted for his own Transportation: And tho' the Archbishop of *Tuam*, and Sir *Lucas Dillon* returned from *Lymerick*, without that entire Submission from the City that was expected, yet he was willing to make the best Interpretation of their great Profession of Duty, and to believe, that they would by Degrees be induced to do what they ought, and that he might be the nearer them to encourage any such Inclination, he removed to *Clare* twelve Miles from *Lymerick*, and gave order to the Troops, which for Conveniency of Quarters were scattered at a greater Distance, to be ready to draw to a Rendezvous, and was shortly after (very reasonably) induced to be almost confident, that the City was well disposed; for having one Day (about the 11th of *June*) visited some Troops, which he had assembled within four Miles of *Lymerick*, and returning at Night to *Clare*; the next Day two Aldermen of the City came to him with this following Letter, from the Mayor of that Corporation.

May

May it please your Excellency,

THE Council having given me ^{Letter from the Mayor of Lymerick to the Lord Lieutenant} Command to signify, and humbly offer to your Excellency, that it was expected by them, that you would (being so near the City Yesterday) bestow a Visit on it; which is no way doubted had been done, if your greater Affairs had not hindered you; and they do yet expect, when those are over, your Excellency will be pleased to step hither to settle that Garrison here, which, without your Presence, cannot (as is humbly conceived) be so well done, or with that Expedition our Necessities require, the Particulars whereof we refer to the Bearers, Alderman *Peirce Creagh* and Alderman *John Bourke*, their Relation, to whom we desire Credence may be given by your Excellency, and to believe that I will never fail to be

*Lymerick, 12th
June, 1650.*

Your Excellency's

Humble Servant.

John Creagh Mayor of Lymerick.

This Letter might very well have raised an Expectation and Assurance, that there should be no more Scruple of receiving a

A VINDICATION of

Garrison, yet the Aldermen that brought it, made such Pause in answering some necessary Questions, that the Marquess returned them the same Night with this Answer.

Lord Lieutenant's
Answer.

AFTER our hearty Commendations, we read your Letter of this Day's Date, by the Conveyance of Aldermen *Peirce Creagh* and *John Bourke*, and heard what *John Bourke*, and the other had to say from that Corporation; in Answer whereunto, we imparted some Particulars unto them: Wherein we expected Satisfaction, which if you send us to the Rendezvous to Morrow (where we intend to be) we shall visit that City, and imploy our best Endeavours in settling the Garrison necessarily desired there, both for the Defence and Satisfaction of the City; and so we bid you heartily farewell,

Clare, 12th
June, 1650.

Your Loving Friend,

O R M O N D.

Lord Lieutenant's
Proposals.

The Particulars he proposed to them were, 1st. To be received in the same Manner, and with such Respect, as the Lord Lieutenant heretofore had always been. 2^{dly}, To have Command of the Guard, giving the Word and Orders in the City. 3^{dly},

3dly, That there might be Quarters provided within the City, for such Horse and Foot, as he should carry in, which should be Part of the Garrison; and whereof a List should be given at the Rendezvous, the next Day.

When the Marquess came to the Rendezvous, two Aldermen met him there, and informed him, that the City had consented to all that he had proposed to them (except only the Admittance of his Guards, which they were unwilling to do) whereupon he sent Messengers back with this Answer, *That he intended not the drawing in of his Guards, out of any Mistrust he had of the Loyalty of the Magistrates of the City to his Majesty, or of their Affection to himself: But for Dignity of the Place he held, and to prevent any popular Tumult, that might be raised by desperate and uninterested Persons against him, or the civil Government of the City, whereunto he had Cause to fear some loose People might by false and frivolous Suggestions be easily instigated; and to take away all Possibility of Suspicion from the most Jealous; he told them, The Guard he meant to take with him, should consist but of an hundred Foot, and fifty Horse, and even those to be entirely of their own Religion, and such as having been constantly of the Confederacy, were interested in all the Benefits of the Articles of the Peace: And so*

not imagining that they could refuse so reasonable an Overture, he went towards the City; but when he came very near the Gates, the same Aldermen came again to him, to let him know, that there was a

Lord Lieutenant advances towards Lymerick.
A Tumult thereon.

Tumult raised in the City by a *Franciscan* Fryer, called Father *Wolf*, and some others, against his coming into the Town, and in Opposition to the Desires and Intentions of the Mayor and principal Citizens; and therefore they dissuaded his going thither, until the Tumult should be quieted, so that the Lord Lieutenant was compelled, with that Affront to return, and rested that Night at *Sbanbally* three Miles from the City; from whence he wrote to them the Sense he had of the Indignity offered to him, and wished *them to consider not only by what Power they had been made a Corporation first, and by whose Protection they had since flourished, but also what solid Foundation of Safety (other than by receiving the Defence he had offered them) was, or could be proposed to them by the present Disturbers of their Quiet, and desir'd their present Answer, that in Case he might be encouraged to proceed in the Way he had laid down of serving the King, and preserving the City from the Tyranny of the Rebels; he might immediately apply himself thereunto, or failing in his Desires therein, he might employ himself, and the Forces he had gathered for that Purpose, to some other Service.* But

But neither this, nor all he could do, upon subsequent Treaties and Overtures moving from themselves, could at all prevail with them, no not his Offering to put himself into the City, and running the same Fortune with it, when *Ireton* was incamped before it; but they continually multiplied, and repeated their Affronts towards him, with all imaginable Circumstances of Contempt (and in the End, that we may have no more Occasion to mention the seditious Carriage of this unfortunate City) broke open his Trunk of Papers, (which he left there,) seized upon the Stores of Corn laid up there for the Supply of the Army, when he believed, that Place would be obedient to him; and some Corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all according to their own Pleasure, and received some Troops of Horse into the City, which contrary to the *Marquess* his Order left the Army, and with those Troops raised Contribution in the County of *Clare*, upon those who had honestly paid the same for the Use of the Army, according to those Orders which they were to obey; and when the *Marquess* sent to the *Mayor* to deliver the Officer of the said Regiment as a Prisoner to the Guard appointed to receive him, he could get no other Answer (and that not in a Week) than that the Government of that City was committed to

*Repeated
Affronts to
the Lord
Lieutenant*

Major General *Hugh O Neal*, and therefore he the Mayor could not meddle therein; and when the like Order was sent by the Marquess to *Hugh O Neal*, he returned Answer, that he was only a Cypher, and not suffered to act any Thing, but what the Mayor and Council thought fit: So that in Truth, that City was no less in Rebellion to the King than the Army under *Ireton* was: Though it had for a Time resisted the Army, and could never have been subdued by it, if it had ever been in that Obedience to the King, as by their Obligation it ought to have been, and therefore must have less Peace of Conscience to support them, in the Calamities they have undergone.

In the Letter formerly inserted from the Marquess, about the Beginning of *May*, to the Bishop and Commissioners assembled at *Loghbreah*, it is said, that in Pursuance of the former Agreement, he had granted a Commission to the Bishop of *Clogher*, for the Command of the Province of *Ulster*, it will be therefore necessary to express, what that Agreement was, and the Proceedings thereupon.

*Bishop of
Clogher
appointed
to com-
mand after
the Death
of O Neal.*

Amongst the Articles which had been made with General *O Neal*, it was provided, that in Case of *Owen O Neal's* Death, or Removal by Advancement, or otherwise, before any Settlement in Parliament,

liament, (to which all the Articles of Peace related) the Nobility and Gentry of the Province of *Ulster* should have Power to name one to the Lord Lieutenant, as chief Governor for his Majesty, to command in the Place of the said *Owen O Neal*, and the said Command was to be conferr'd accordingly upon the Person so to be named: And according to this Power, *Owen O Neal* being dead, the Nobility, Bishops, and principal Gentry of that Province, made Choice of the Bishop of *Clogher* to succeed him in the Charge, and having signified such their Election under their Hands, to the Lord Lieutenant; about the Middle of *March* he granted such a Commission to him as he was obliged to do, and the Bishop with great Activity proceeded in infesting the *English* Rebels He infests the English Rebels. in that Province, as much as was in his Power, and having an Army consisting of about 5000 Men, Foot and Horse, about the 23d of *June*, 1650, (when the Lord Lieutenant could not draw one Thousand Men together, or keep them, if together, forty eight Hours) he encounter'd, not far from *Londonderry*, with Sir *Charles Coote*, who commanded the *English* Rebels in those Quarters, and was then inferior in Foot to the Bishop, tho' otherwise he had a great Advantage of him, by having near triple the Number of Horse, notwithstanding which

which Inequality, the *Irish* behav'd themselves with Courage, but in the End were totally defeated, so that the Bishop was compell'd, after he saw the Day totally lost, to quit the Field with a small Party of Horse that attended him, and the next Day in his Flight he had the Misfortune, near *Enniskilling*, to meet with the Governor of that Town, in the Head of a Party too strong for him, against which, however, the Bishop defended himself with notable Courage, but after he had receiv'd many Wounds, he was forced to become Prisoner, upon Promise first that he should have fair Quarter, contrary to which, Sir *Charles Coote*, as soon as he knew he was a Prisoner, caus'd him to be hang'd with all the Circumstances of Contumely, Reproach, and Cruelty he could devise.

Is defeated by Coote,
And basely murder'd.

This was the End of that unfortunate Prelate, whom, since he bore so great a Part in the Troubles of *Ireland*, and was much superior in Parts to any Man of that Party, it will not be impertinent or uncharitable to mention some particular Passages of his Life, that thereby his Nature and Disposition may be the better collected, and indeed the Spirit and Temper of Mind which those kind of Men were possess'd with, who had the greatest Abilities to do hurt some few Years before the Rebellion.

This

This *Ever Mac Mahon* being an *Irish* His Character and History. Priest, and residing for the most Part in, or near *Dublin*, repair'd to Sir *George Radcliffe*, who had a principal Part in the managing of Affairs in *Ireland*, and being admitted to his Presence, desir'd to have some private Conference with him, without the Presence of any other; all Attendance and Strangers being withdrawn, he fell on his Knees, and said, *He came to put his Life into his Hands, told him he had committed many Treasons against the King, for which he felt that Remorse of Conscience, that he resolv'd rather to offer his Life a Sacrifice by confessing it, than endure the Torment he felt by concealing it; that he was capable of no Quiet of Mind but by disburthening himself, and if by the Grace and Mercy of the King he might obtain a Pardon for what was past, he would in such a Manner apply himself to his Majesty's Service, that he would, in some Degree, merit the Benefit: And then told him of several Treaties which were abroad with foreign Princes, in order to the Disturbance of the Peace of the Nation.*

Upon hearing him, and those great Expressions of Penitence, Sir *George* writes to one of the Secretaries of State in *England*, to inform his Majesty of all the Particulars, who (according to the Clemency of his Nature) sent a Warrant over for the preparing and passing his Pardon, which

shortly after Sir George deliver'd to him, who again falling on his Knees, and magnifying the Mercy of the King, said, *He had now Peace of Mind, desir'd nothing but to deserve the Favour of so gracious a Sovereign, that he would content himself with that Evidence of his Majesty's Goodness without making farther Use of it, or suing out his Pardon according to the Formalities and Rules of Law, which, tho' necessary for his own Security, would (being that way made publick) disenable him from doing his Majesty that Service he intended, since he should be admitted into those Trusts, without which he could make no Discoveries.*

From hence forward, during the whole Government of the Earl of *Strafford*, he gave frequent Advertisements of some Agitations by obscure and unknown Persons of that Nation, at *Rome*, and in *France*, and *Spain*, which were rather Instances of Murmuring, and seditious Purposes, than (reasonably) like to produce any notable Disturbance. From the Beginning of the Rebellion his Power was very great with those that had been most (and he was of the least Dissimulation) violently opposite to any Reconciliation, upon the first and second Conclusion of Peace by the confederate Catholicks, and so he continu'd firm to the Party which follow'd *Owen O Neal*, or rather govern'd *Owen O Neal* who com-
manded

manded that Party, and over and above those Demands which concerned Religion, (to which they seem'd to adhere with more than ordinary Zeal, and thereby drew a depending of that Clergy to them) they insisted upon the Restitution of the great Estates in *Ulster*, which was not in the Power of the Crown, without Violation of several Acts of Parliament, and defeating many Descents and Purchases which had passed without any Interruption or Claim for the Space of one hundred and fifty Years. This impossible Expectation kept *Owen O Neal* and the Bishop of *Clogher* from concurring with the confederate Catholics, in the Peace he made with his Majesty; and the Animosity they contracted against the Confederates, inclin'd them to relieve *Derry*, when (as it is remembered before) it was even ready to be reduc'd by his Majesty's Forces, rather than submit to the Peace made by them with the Lord Lieutenant. After they had found it necessary to make that Agreement with the Marquess, it must be acknowledg'd, that the Bishop perform'd, and observ'd very justly (as he was punctual in what he promis'd) and apply'd himself with all Dexterity and Industry to the Advancement of his Majesty's Interest, so that during his Time he retain'd the Clergy in all their Assemblies, from making any Acts

Acts which might discourage the People from their Obedience to the King's Authority, and therefore how inconvenient soever his Service had been to the Peace and Happiness of that Nation, his Death was very unseasonable, which was remarkable and notorious in these Circumstances, That in less than a Year after he had brought *Owen O Neal* to relieve *Sir Charles Coote* in *Derry*, (who must otherwise in a few Days Time have delivered it up to the King) his Army was defeated by the same *Sir Charles Coote*, and himself, after Quarter and Life promis'd, executed by the positive Order and Command of him whom he had thus preserved.

Toward the End of *July* the Marquess receiv'd a Letter subscrib'd by two Persons who stil'd themselves Archbishops of *Dublin* and *Tuam*; in these Words.

May it please your Excellency,

Letter to
the Lord
Lieutenant
from the
Titular
Archbishops
of Dublin
and
Tuam.

THIS Nation is become of late a Fable and Reproach, Christianity is brought to a sad Condition, notwithstanding the frequent and laborious Meetings and Consultation of Prelates; we find Jealousies and Fear deep in the Hearts of Men, Thorns hard to be cut out; we see most Men contributing to the

the Enemy, and rendering their Persons
and Substance useleſs to his Maſteſty, and
deſtructive to Religion and the King's
Interest; theſe Kind of Men (if not pre-
vented) will immediately betray them-
ſelves and us; we find no Subſiſtence for
the Soldier, nor is there any Army (any
way conſiderable) in the Kingdom, to
recover what is loſt, or defend what we
have: So, as humanly ſpeaking, if God
will not be pleaſed, for his Mercy Sake,
to take from us the heavy Judgment of
his Anger, we are afraid of loſing ſacred
Religion, the King's Authority, and
Ireland: The four Archbishops to ac-
quit their Conſciences in the Eye of
God, have reſolved to meet at *James-*
town, about the ſixth Day of the next
Month, and to bring along with them
as many of the Suffragans as may re-
pair thither with Safety; the End of
this Conſideration is to do what in us
lies for the Amendment of all Errors, and
the Recovery of this afflicted People:
If your Excellency will think fit to ſend
one or more Persons to make Propoſals
for the Safety of the whole Nation,
we ſhall not want Willingneſs to pre-
pare a good Answer, nor will we de-
ſpair of the Bleſſing of God, and his
powerful Influence to be upon our ſin-
cere

‘ cere Intentions in that Place; even so
 ‘ we conclude, remaining

July 24.
 1650.

Your Excellency's

Humble Servants.

Whoever reads this Summons or Invitation, will believe it to be *Satis pro imperio*, and that such a Direction to send one or more Persons to make Proposals to them for the Safety of the Nation, and that such a negligent Expresssion (*that we shall not want Willingness to prepare a good Answer*) could not proceed but from a superior to an inferior Dependent; however, as the Marques knew it would be to no Purpose to inhibit their Meeting, so he thought fit to write to them in this Manner.

Lord Lieutenant's
 Answer.

‘ AFTER our hearty Commendations,
 ‘ we receiv'd yours of the 24th of
 ‘ July, on the 1st of this Month, and
 ‘ do with much Grief acknowledge, that
 ‘ this Nation is brought into a sad Condition, and that by such Means, when
 ‘ it shall be known abroad, and by History deliver'd to Posterity, will indeed be
 ‘ thought

‘ thought a Fable, for it will seem in-
‘ credible that any Nation should so mad-
‘ ly affect and violently pursue Ways lead-
‘ ing to their own Destruction, as this
‘ People will appear to have done, and
‘ that after the certain Ruin they were
‘ running into, was accidentally and fre-
‘ quently discover’d unto those that in all
‘ Times, and upon all Occasions, have
‘ had Power to compel or persuade them
‘ to whatsoever they thought fit; and
‘ it will be thought less credible when it
‘ shall be declar’d, as in Truth it will be,
‘ that the Temporal, Spiritual, and Eter-
‘ nal Interest and Safety of those that had
‘ this Power, (and that have been thus
‘ forewarned) did consist in making Use of
‘ it to reclaim the People, and direct them
‘ into the Ways of Preservation: To be
‘ plain, it cannot be deny’d but the Dis-
‘ obedience we have met with, (which
‘ we at large declar’d to many of you,
‘ who with divers of the Nobility and
‘ Gentry were assembled at *Logbreab* in
‘ *April* last) were the certain ready Ways
‘ to the Destruction of this Nation, as by
‘ our Letters to the Assembly we made
‘ apparent, and ancient and late Experience
‘ hath made the Thing evident, what
‘ Power those of your Function have had
‘ to draw the People of this Nation to
‘ what they thought fit: Whether your
O Lord-

‘ Lordships have been convinc’d that the
‘ Obedience which we desir’d should be
‘ given to his Majesty’s Authority, pur-
‘ suant to the Articles of Peace, was the
‘ Way to preserve the Nation, we know
‘ not; Or, whether your Lordships have
‘ made Use of all the Means upon other
‘ Occasions exercis’d by you, to procure
‘ the necessary Obedience, we shall not
‘ determine: Sure we are, that since the
‘ said Assembly, not only *Lymerick* hath
‘ persisted in the Disobedience it was in,
‘ and aggravated it by several Affronts
‘ since fix’d upon the King’s Authority,
‘ but *Galloway* hath been seduc’d into
‘ the like Disobedience, for Want of a
‘ due Compliance in those Places, but
‘ principally from *Lymerick*. It hath been
‘ impossible for us to raise an Army against
‘ the Rebels, for to attempt it any where
‘ on the other Side the *Shannon*, but near
‘ *Lymerick*, and without absolute Com-
‘ mand of that City to secure it, could
‘ be no other than certain Ruin of the
‘ Design in the very Beginning of it;
‘ and to have done it on the other Side
‘ the *Shannon* was impossible, since the
‘ Ground-work of the Army must be rais’d
‘ and supported from hence, which, while
‘ it was forming, would have exhausted
‘ all the Substance of those Parts, and not
‘ have effected the Work: For Want of
‘ such

‘ such an Army (which, with God’s As-
‘ sistance, might certainly have been long
‘ since rais’d, if *Lymerick* would have
‘ obey’d our Orders) the Rebels have,
‘ without any considerable Resistance from
‘ abroad, taken *Clonmell*, *Terroghan*, and
‘ *Catherlagh*, and reduc’d *Waterford* and
‘ *Duncannon* to great (and we fear irrec-
‘ verable) Distress: The Loss of those
‘ Places, and the Want of any suitable
‘ Power to protect them, have doubtless
‘ reduc’d many to contribute their Sub-
‘ stance and personal Assistance to the Re-
‘ bels, from whence, whether they might
‘ have been held by Church Censures,
‘ we know not, but have not heard of
‘ any such issu’d against them: And lastly,
‘ for Want of such an Army, the Rebels
‘ have taken to themselves Contributions,
‘ which considerably would have assisted
‘ to support any Army, and preserve the
‘ Kingdom. If therefore the End of your
‘ Consultation at *Jamestown* be to acquit
‘ your Consciences in the Eyes of God,
‘ the Amendment of all Errors, and the
‘ Recovery of this afflicted People, as
‘ by your Letter, giving us Notice of your
‘ Meeting, as is profess’d, we have en-
‘ deavour’d briefly to shew, that the
‘ Spring of our first Losses, and approach-
‘ ing Ruin, arises from Disobedience, and
‘ it will not be hard to shew, that the

‘ Spring of this Disobedience arises from
 ‘ the Forgeries invented, and Calumnies
 ‘ spread against the Government, and
 ‘ Enticement of the People to Rebellion,
 ‘ by very many of the Clergy. That
 ‘ these are Errors frequently practis’d,
 ‘ and fit for an Amendment, is no more
 ‘ to be doubted, than that unless they be
 ‘ amended, the Affliction of the People
 ‘ will continue, and as it is to be fear’d,
 ‘ end in their utter Destruction; which if
 ‘ prevented by what your Consultations
 ‘ will produce, the happy Effect of your
 ‘ Meeting will be acknowledg’d, with-
 ‘ out questioning the Authority by which
 ‘ you met. Proposals from us, other than
 ‘ what we have formerly, and now by
 ‘ this our Letter, made, we hold not
 ‘ necessary. And so we bid you heartily
 ‘ farewell,

Your Lordships

Affectionate Friend,

Roscommon, Aug. 2. 1650.
*directed to our very
 good Lords, the Arch-
 bishops and Bishops met
 at Jamestown.*

ORMOND.

Upon

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, several Bishops who met at *Jamestown* sent the Bishop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Charles Kelly*, to the Lord Lieutenant with this Letter of Credit.

May it please your Excellency,

WE receiv'd your Letter of the se-^{Letter of}
 ' cond Current, where, to our ^{Credit}
 ' Grief and Admiration, we saw some Ex-^{from the}
 ' pressions that seem meant for the cast-^{Bishops at}
 ' ing the Blame upon us of the present ^{Jamestown.}
 ' sad Condition of the Kingdom, which
 ' we hope to answer, to the Satisfaction
 ' of your Excellency and the whole King-
 ' dom; in the mean Time we permit this
 ' Protestation, as we are Christian Catho-
 ' lick Bishops, that we have done our
 ' Endeavours, with all Earnestness and
 ' Candour, for the taking away from the
 ' Hearts of the People, all Jealousies and
 ' Differences, that were conceiv'd the Oc-
 ' casion of so many Disasters that besel
 ' the Nation, and that on all Occasions,
 ' our Actions and Co-operations were rea-
 ' dy to accompany all your Excellency's
 ' Desires for the Preservation of his Ma-
 ' jesty's Interest in this Kingdom, whose
 ' State being in this present desperate
 ' Condition; we have thought it our
 ' Duty to offer to your Excellency our
 ' Sense

A VINDICATION of

‘ Sense of the only Possibility we could
 ‘ devise for its Preservation, and that by the
 ‘ Intervention, and Expression of the Lord
 ‘ Bishop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Charles Kelly*,
 ‘ Dean of *Tuam*, who shall clearly deliver
 ‘ to your Excellency our Thoughts and
 ‘ good Intentions, as to this Effect, pray-
 ‘ ing your Excellency to give full Credit
 ‘ to what they will declare in our Names
 ‘ in this Business, which will be still own’d
 ‘ as our Commands laid upon them, and
 ‘ the Declaration of the sincere Hearts
 ‘ of

Your Excellency's

Aug. 10.
1650.

Most Humble Servants,

H. Armagh, Jo. *Archiep.* Tuam,
 Nicholas Fernensis & *Procura-*
tor Archiep. Dublin, Jo. Ra-
 potensis, Eug. Killmore, An-
 tonius Clanmacnensis, *Arch-*
diacon. & *Procurator* Leight, in
 Jamestown.

When the two Persons had deliver'd
 their Credential Letter to the Lord Lieu-
 tenant, he wish'd them, in Regard of the
 Impor-

Importance of the Matter they were intrusted with, to deliver what they had, in Writing: Whereupon they presented him with a Paper, containing these Words.

May it please your Excellency,

‘ **B**eing intrusted by the Clergy met Paper deliver’d to the Lord Lieutenant.
 ‘ at *Jamestown*, to deliver a Message to your Excellency, imparting their
 ‘ Advices, what only Means is, as they conceive, that may serve to free the
 ‘ Nation from the sad Condition whereunto it is reduc’d at present, do, in Obedience to your Excellency’s Commands, signify’d for giving the Substance of that
 ‘ Message in Writing, humbly represent the same to be as follows.

‘ That whereas your Excellency (they doubt not) hath labour’d by other Hands, to bring the best Aids that possibly could be had for the Relief of this gasping Nation, yet finding now in their Consciences no other Expedient or Remedy for the Prosecution thereof, and of his Majesty’s Interest therein, more prevalent than your Excellency’s speedy Repair to his Majesty for the preventing the Ruin and Desolation of all, and leaving the King’s Authority in the Hands of some Per-

A VINDICATION of

' son or Persons faithful to his Majesty,
 ' and trusty to the Nation, and such as
 ' the Affections and Confidence of the
 ' People will follow, by which the Rage
 ' and Fury of the Enemy will receive In-
 ' terruption, they humbly offer this im-
 ' portant Matter, of the Safety or De-
 ' struction of this Nation, and the King's
 ' Interest, unto your Wisdom and Consi-
 ' deration, hoping that the Kingdom, by
 ' your Excellency's Presence with his Ma-
 ' jesty, and intrusting the King's Autho-
 ' rity safely, as above, may, by God's
 ' Blessing, hold out, till reliev'd by his
 ' Majesty with Supplies; the Prelates in
 ' the mean Time will do what lies in their
 ' Power to assist the Person, or Persons,
 ' so intrusted: The great Trust his Ma-
 ' jesty doth repose in your Excellency, the
 ' vast Interest of Fortune, the Alliance
 ' and Kindred you have in the Nation,
 ' and your Excellency's Presence in the
 ' Management of Affairs of the greatest
 ' Consequence, will, we doubt not, add-
 ' ed to the other Reasons propos'd by
 ' us, induce you to embrace their Advice,
 ' as proceeding from our pious Inten-
 ' tion, that look only upon the Preser-
 ' vation of the Catholick Religion, the
 ' Support of his Majesty's Authority, and
 ' the Estates, Liberties, and Fortunes of
 ' his

JAMES, *Duke of Ormond.*

201

' his Subjects of this Kingdom, which we
' heartily offer, as

Aug. 13th.
1650.

Your Excellency's

Most Humble Servants,

Oliver Dromore.
Charles Kelly.

Tho' the Marques did not expect that the Meeting of the Bishops and Clergy in that Manner at *Jamesstown* would have produc'd any better Effect, than their former Meetings in other Places had done, yet he could not imagine that their Presumption would have been so great, as it appear'd by this Message to be, and when he communicated it to the Commissioners of Trust, they were not less scandaliz'd at it, and believ'd that upon serious Conference with the Bishops, they should be able to reform their Misunderstanding, and their Wills, and therefore desir'd the Marques, that instead of sending a particular Answer to the Matter of the Message, he would write to them to give him a Meeting at *Logbreak*, on the 26th of the same Month, to the End, that upon a free Conference they might be induc'd to understand how pernicious a Thing they had devis'd in order to their own Security.

Lord Lieutenant appoints a Meeting with the Irish Bishops at Logbreak.

Theah.

A VINDICATION of

The Bishop of *Dromore* and Dr. *Kelly* return'd with this Proposition, and the Marquess making no Doubt of their Compliance, so far as to meet at the Place he appointed, he went thither at the Day assign'd; they suffer'd the Marquess to make a Journey to *Logbreah* at the Time appointed, but instead of meeting him themselves, they sent the Bishops of *Cork* and *Clonsfert*, no otherwise intrusted than to receive his Answer to the Proposition they had made for his leaving the Kingdom: To which, when he saw he could not draw them to a Conference, he return'd, *That they might well remember, that upon the Disobedience he had formerly met with, he had obtain'd Leave from his Majesty to depart the Kingdom, and that if themselves, the Bishops, the Nobility, and Gentry met together, had not in April last, in Writing and Discourse, given him Assurance, that they not only desir'd his Stay, but endeavour'd to procure him such Obedience as might well enable him (with Hope of Success) to have carry'd on the War, he would have made Use of the Liberty given unto him by his Majesty, to have freed himself from the Vexation he had since endur'd, and the Dishonour which he foresaw he should be subject to, for Want of Power, without which (as he then told them) he should be able to do nothing considerable for the King or the Nation; that he had transmitted those Assurances to*

But reject- ed, and on- ly two Per- sons sent to receive his

Answer to their Pro- position.

his

his Majesty, with his own Resolution to attend the Effects; That he plainly observ'd that the Division was great in the Nation, under his Government, yet it would be greater upon his Removal, of which, in a free Conference he would have given them such pregnant Evidence, as he held not fit to declare to them in Writing: For these and other Reasons he told them, that unless he were forc'd by inevitable Necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the Kingdom, and desir'd them to use all Means within their Power, to dispose the People to their Dutifulness and Obedience as became them.

This wrought nothing on the Temper of these Men, who were resolv'd not to be satisfy'd with any Thing the Marquess could say to them; insomuch, that within few Days after they had receiv'd his Answer from *Logbreah*, at the Time when the Rebels were strong in the Field, and had then pass'd the *Shannon*, if they had not been restrain'd by the few Troops the Marquess kept on Foot: They publish'd an Excommunication against all those, of what Quality soever, who should feed, help, or adhere unto the Lord Lieutenant, in which this Circumstance is observable, That tho' they did not publish this Excommunication until the 15th of September, it was enacted at their Assembly at *Jamesstown*, the 12th of August, which was within two Days after

Whereupon they extravagantly excommunicate all who should adhere to the Lord Lieutenant

A VINDICATION of

after they had sent the Bishop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Kelly*, to persuade the Marquess to leave the Kingdom, and the Day before they deliver'd their Message, which was on the 13th; so that they thought any Thing that the Lord Lieutenant should return to them, would be impertinent to the Matter in Hand, or if they were not so delighted with their own Proceedings that they have themselves carefully publish'd to the World in Print, would it be believ'd that Persons who in the least Degree pretended the Care of the People's Welfare or Security, could, at such a Time (when a potent, bloody, and malicious Enemy was in the Field) set all Men loose from all Government, Civil and Martial, and not direct them whom they should follow or obey; for it is said, *They were advis'd to return to their Association, and until a General Assembly of the Nation could be conveniently call'd, unanimously to serve against the common Enemy*; since no Persons were nam'd or appointed to conduct them, it must be acknowledg'd, that they were left without any Directions at all, to the Rage and Sway of those who intended nothing but their utter Extirpation.

Together with their Excommunication, they publish'd in the Head of the Army, a Declaration, Entituled, *A Declaration of the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates* and

And publish a Declaration.

and Dignitaries of the Regular and Secular Clergy of the Kingdom of Ireland, against the Continuance of his Majesty's Authority in the Marquess of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the Misgovernment of his Subjects, and ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army, and Violation of the Articles of Peace, Dated at Jamestown, in the Convent of the Fryers Minors, August 12, 1650.

If the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Secular, and Regular Clergy of *Ireland*, will take upon them to declare against the King's Authority where his Majesty hath placed it, and will make themselves Judges of his Supreme Minister, for the Misgovernment of his Subjects, and ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army; they assume an Authority to themselves, which no other Christian Clergy ever pretended; and sufficiently declare to the King, how far they are from being Subjects, or intending to pay him any Obedience, longer than they are governed in such Manner, and by such Persons as they think fit to be pleased with.

If the Marquess of *Ormond* had misgoverned the People, and conducted his Majesty's Army amiss, the Clergy are not competent Judges of the one or the other; and for the Violation of the Articles of Peace, the Commissioners nominated and appointed for the due Execution of them, were the only Persons who could determine

mine and remedy such Violations, and who well knew there was no Cause for their Complaint; but on the other Hand, (as hath been before mentioned) they obstructed that Concurrence and Obedience in the People, without which those Articles could not be observed, or the Security of the People provided for.

*Purport of
the Decla-
ration.*

The Preface of that Declaration (according to the usual Method) *justified and magnified their Piety and Virtue in the Beginning and Carrying on of the War, extolled their Duty and Affection to the King, in submitting to him, and returning to their Allegiance, when (they said) they could have better, or as good Conditions from the Rebels of England; intimated, what a vast Sum of Money they had provided, near half a Million of English Pounds, besides several Magazines of Corn, with a fair Train of Artillery, great Quantity of Powder, Match, and Ammunition, with other Materials, for Carrying on the War, and many other Particulars of that*

*Untruth
thereof.*

Nature, the monstrous Untruth whereof, doth sufficiently appear, in what hath been said before; the Marquess having been forced to borrow those little Sums of Money out of the Pockets of his Friends, and to spend all that he raised (upon the Sale of a good Quantity of his own Land, for the Support of his Wife and Children) to enable the Army to march, and which was never repaid

repaid to him, and the Magazine of Corn, Ammunition, and other Materials for War, being so absolutely unfurnished, that it was not possible for him to reduce those small Forts of *Mary-borough* and *Athy*, held by *Owen O Neal's* Party, till he had by his own Power and Interest procured some Supplies, when he did contract with a Merchant, and assigned all the King's Dues upon the Customs, and other Duties for his Payment for Arms, (and for which the Merchant remains still unsatisfied) to a great Value, so far were these Men from making that Provision they brag of.

What Conditions they might have had from the Rebels of *England*, may be concluded by the Usage they have since found, Divine Justice having made that bloody People more merciless towards those, (whose Frowardness, Obstinacy, and Treachery against the King's Authority contributed most to their Service) than against any who worthily opposed them, and were most Enemies to their Proceedings.

They endeavoured by all imaginable Reproaches and Calumnies to lessen the People's Reverence towards the Lord Lieutenant, laying such Aspersions on him in the said Declaration, as might most alienate their Affections, though themselves knew them to be untrue, and without Colour. They complained that he had given many

Commissions for Colonels and other Commands, and upon them consumed the Substance of the Kingdom, who most betrayed or deserted the Service; whereas they well knew, there was not one *Protestant* Officer, to whom the Lord Lieutenant gave a Commission, who betrayed any Place committed to him, or was otherwise treated, in order to their Support, than all other Officers of the same Condition in the Army, nor did they quit the Service, until after many of them had gallantly lost their Lives, and that the Clergy had so far incensed the People against them, only for being *Protestants*, that the Marquess was compelled to give them Passes to depart the Kingdom, or otherwise to dispose of themselves; and the Rebels were glad to let them pass through their Quarters, or to remain in them, that thereby they might deprive the King of the only Strength they apprehended, the Officers being of such known Courage and Conduct.

They accuse him of Improvidence in conducting the Army, after the Defeat at *Rathmines*, of not relieving *Drogheda*, of permitting Play, Drinking, and Licentiousness in the Camp, and as bold Aspersions as (without Excommunication) might gain Credit with the People, and reflect upon his Honour, where he was not enough known; whereas the Action of *Rathmines*, set down
before

before at large, and the Taking of *Drogheda* by Storm, when it was scarce apprehended, and it is notoriously known, that in his own Person he was so strict and vigilant, that he gave not himself Leave to enjoy those Pleasures and Liberties which might very well have consisted with the Office and Duty of a most severe General, and that in above three Months Time (which at his first drawing the Forces to the Rendezvous, till after the Misfortune at *Rathmines*) he never slept out of his Soldier's Habit; so that the Malice and Craft of those unreasonable and senseless Calumnies, are easy enough to be discovered, and can only make an Impression upon vulgar Minds, not informed enough of the Humour and Spirit of the Contrivers.

They magnified exceedingly the Merit of the Prelates, the Declaration they had made at *Clanmacnois*, their frequent Expressions of their Sincerity, and most blamed the *Marquess* for not making use of their Power and Diligence towards the advancing of the King's Interest, but rather for suspecting and blaming them by his Letter, to the Prelates at *Jamestown*, of the 2d of *August*; (which is before remembered) and they said, that Words were heard to fall from him dangerous, as to the Persons of some Prelates; to all which little need be said, since there is be-

fore so full and just Mention of their fair Declaration and Profession, and their Actions which accompanied them; and for the Danger some Prelates were in, they will be ashamed to urge, where it is known, that the Bishop of *Killalow* was brought to him in Custody, after they had signed this Declaration and Excommunication, and set at Liberty by him; and when the Bishops themselves, in their Letter to the Earl of *Westmeath*, do acknowledge to have been preserved by the Marquess, and for which many will rather expect an Apology, than for any Jealousy he could entertain of Persons, who behaved themselves in that Manner towards the King's Lieutenant.

They charged him with having represented to his Majesty, that some Parts of the Kingdom were disobedient, which absolutely denied any Disobedience by them committed, and that thereby he had procured from his Majesty, a Letter to withdraw his own Person, and the Royal Authority, if such Disobedience was multiplied, and so leave the People without the Benefit of the Peace; this was the Reward (they said) his Excellency, out of his Envy to that Catholick Loyal Nation, prepared for their Loyalty, sealed with the shedding of their Blood; and the Loss of their Substance.

Whe-

Whether the obstinate and rebellious Carriage of *Waterford*, and *Lymerick*, which brought Destruction upon themselves, did not deserve and require such a Representation to be made to the King, may be judged by all Men, upon what hath been before truly set down of those Particulars, and if the Places themselves had not acknowledged those Acts of Disobedience, the Prelates had seemed to lament them, and most earnestly dissuaded him from leaving the Kingdom, promising all their Endeavours to reduce the People to Obedience; (which was only in their Power to have done.) After all which, meeting with so many repeated Sights and Affronts, the Marquess had been much to blame, longer to have exposed himself and his Honour to those Reproaches, and to have suffered his Person with the important Name of the Lieutenant of *Ireland* to have remained in that Kingdom, and every Day to hear of the rendring and betraying of Places to the Rebels, which he could no more remedy, than he could infuse a Spirit of Obedience, Unity and Understanding into that unhappy infatuated Nation, yet he was so far from wishing, that his Majesty should absolutely withdraw his Royal Authority from them (how unworthy soever they made themselves of it) that he always offered to leave the

A VINDICATION of

King's Power in the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, as he afterwards did, hoping that since their great Exception to him, was for being a *Protestant*, they could with all Alacrity have complied with the other, who is known to be a most zealous *Roman Catholic*, and whose Affection and Integrity to his Majesty was unquestionable.

They reproached him, that while he was an Enemy to the Catholics, he had been very active in unnatural Executions against them, and shedding the Blood of poor Priests and Churchmen: But that since the Peace, he had shewed little of Action, and then kept himself in *Connaught* and *Thomond*, where no Danger was, and the Enemy appeared not, so that they would neither suffer him to have an Army to oppose the Rebels, nor be content that he should retire into those Places where the Enemy could least infest him, and from whence with those few Troops which remained with him, he defended the *Shannon*, and kept the Rebels from getting over the River, while he stayed there; and for the former Activity and Success against them, which they were content to impute to him, it was when he had a free Election of Officers, and an absolute Power over his Garrisons, where he caused the Soldiers continually to be exercising their Arms, and kept in Order; and from whence he could have drawn his Army

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my together, and have marched with it to what Place he would, which Advantages he was now without, and the Rebels were possessed of: And therefore it was no wonder, that they now obtained their Victories easily, as he had done formerly. But since they were so disingenuous and ungrateful (there being many among them, whose Lives he had saved with apparent Danger to himself) to charge him with being active in unnatural Executions against them, and in shedding the Blood of poor Priests and Church-men; and for the Improvement and Propagation of Calumnies, it hath pleased some Persons to cause that Declaration to be translated into *Latin*, and printed, thereby to make him odious to the *Roman* Catholics, and have named two Priests (who they say) were by his Order executed, and put to Death in cold Blood; and after his Promise to save their Lives, whose Names were Mr. *Higgins* and Mr. *White*: It will not be impertinent to set down at large the Case of these two Persons, that from thence, Men who have no Mind to be deceived and misled may judge of the Candor and Sincerity of those Persons, who would obtrude such Calumnies to the World.

It must therefore be known, that when those two *Priests* were put to Death, the War was conducted, and carried on by

the two Houses of Parliament, that the Government of *Ireland* was in the Hands of the two Lords Justices, *Parsons* and *Borlace*, who upon the Cruelties first practised by the *Irish* Catholicks in the Beginning of the Rebellion, had forbidden any Quarter to be given, and taken all the Ways to incense the Soldiers against the *Irish* Nation, and principally against all Priests; and the Marquess of *Ormond* was only then Lieutenant General of the Army, and received all Orders from the Lords Justices, who were jealous of him, as a Person who dissembled his Devotion unto the King, and who were directed to watch his Actions as strictly, as if he had been their Enemy. At this Time the Marquess having Intelligence, that a Party of the Rebels intended to be at such a Time at the *Naas*; he drew some Troops together with hope of surprizing them, and marching all Night, came early in the Morning into the Town, from which the Rebels upon Notice were newly fled; in the Town some of the Soldiers found Mr. *Higgins*, who might (its true) have as easily fled, if he had apprehended any Danger in the Stay, when he was brought before the Marquess, he voluntarily acknowledged, that he was a *Papist*, and that his Residence was in the Town, from whence he refused to fly away with those that were guilty, because
he

he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed that he should not be without ample Evidence of it, having by his sole Charity and Power preserved very many of the *English Protestants* from the Rage and Fury of the *Irish*; and therefore, he only besought the *Marquess* to preserve him from the Violence of the Soldiers, and to put him securely into *Dublin*, to be tried for any Crime, which the *Marquess* promised to do, and performed it, though with so much Hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the Soldiers, that he was a *Papist*; the Officer into whose Custody he was intrusted, was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the *Marquess* could do to relieve him, and compose the Mutiny: When he came to *Dublin*, he informed the Lords Justices of the Prisoner he had brought with him, of the good Testimony he had received of his peaceable Carriage, of the Pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had Credit, from entering into Rebellion, and of very many charitable Offices he had performed, of which there wanted not Evidence enough, there being many then in *Dublin*, who owed their Lives, and whatsoever of their Fortunes were left, purely to him; so that he doubted not, he would be worthy of Protection; within a few Days after, when the *Marquess* did not suspect the poor Man's

An In-
stance of
the bloody
Disposition
of the En-
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being in Danger, he heard that Sir *Charles Coote*, who was *Provost Marshal General*, had taken him out of Prison, and caused him to be put to death in the Morning, before, or as soon as it was Light; of which Barbarity, the Lord *Marquess* complained to the Lords Justices, but was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself to be upon some Disadvantage, for thinking the Proceeding to be other, than it ought to have been. This was the Case of Mr. *Higgins*, and this the Marquess his Part in it, and the poor Man was so far from complaining of that Breach of Promise at his Death (how confidently soever it may be averred) that he exceedingly acknowledged the Favour he had received from his Lordship, prayed for his Prosperity, and lamented his Want of Power, to do that which the World saw his Inclination prompted him to. The Proceedings against Mr. *White* was very different, and in this Manner; The *Marquess* being upon the March with his Army, he quartered one Night at *Clonie*, (a House of the Earl of *Westmeath's* who was residing there with his Wife and Family) when he was at Supper many of the Officers being at the Table, the Lady of the House upon some Whisper she received from a Servant, expressed some Trouble in her Countenance, which the *Marquess*

quefs (who fate next her) perceiving, asked her what the Matter was, she told him in his Ear, that she was in great Apprehension for an honest Man who was in her House, and much feared the Soldiers, confessing, that he was a Priest. The *Marquefs* replied, that if he was in the House, and kept himself there, he was in no Danger; for as the Soldiers would attempt nothing, while the *Marquefs* stayed there, so he would leave a Guard at his Departure, that should secure it against Stragglers, or any Party that should stay behind; which he did accordingly. In the Morning, when he was ready to march, he received Information, That the Rebels were possessed of a Pass by which he was to go, whereupon he sent some Troops to get afore, three Miles from the Way the Army was to march, and by that means to come upon the Rear of the Rebels by the Time the Army could come to the Pass; (which being done after a short Encounter in which many were killed) the Rebels were put to Flight, and the Pass gained. In this Action Mr. *White* was taken on Horseback with a Case of Pistols, who desired to be brought to the *Marquefs*, which being done, he told him he was the Person, for whom the Countess of *Westmeath* had desired his Favour the Day before, and that his Lordship had promised he should be

be safe. The Marquess told him, that if he was the same Person, it was his own Fault that he was not safe. If he had stay'd in the House, this had not befallen him, that it was not now in his Power to preserve him, himself being bound to observe those Orders which the Lords Justices had given him: Nevertheless he did endeavour to have saved him, at least, till he might be brought to *Dublin*: But the whole Army (which was possessed by the *Parliament*, and by the *Lords Justices*, with a very bitter Spirit against the *Roman Catholick* Clergy) mutiny'd upon it, and in the End, compelled the Marquess to leave him to that Justice, which they were authorized to execute, and so the Man was by them put to Death. Who can now, upon these two Instances, (and no other have been, or can be given) reasonably or honestly say, that the *Marquess* hath had his Hands defiled with the Blood of Priests? And from the Time, that he had the chief Power committed to him, there was not only any Priest (how maliciously or treacherously soever they behaved themselves against the King's Service, or to the Person of the Lord Lieutenant) who suffered Death; but all other Acts of Rage and Blood were declined, and discountenanced by him.

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I shall pass over the many Tautologies, and impertinent Calumnies in the said Declaration. All which are sufficiently answered and cleared, by what is already contained in this Narrative; and shall only insert the Conclusion in their own Words, which are as followeth: ‘ For the Preventi-
 ‘ on of these Evils, and that the Kingdom Conclusion of the Declaration.
 ‘ may not be utterly lost to his Majesty, and
 ‘ his Catholick Subjects: This Congre-
 ‘ gation of Archbishops, Bishops, and other
 ‘ Prelates, and Dignitaries of both Clergies
 ‘ of this Kingdom, found our selves bound
 ‘ in Conscience (after great Deliberation)
 ‘ to declare against the Continuance of his
 ‘ Majesty’s Authority, in the Person of
 ‘ the Lord Marquess of *Ormond*; having
 ‘ by his Misgovernment, ill Conduct of
 ‘ his Majesty’s Army, and Breach of Faith
 ‘ with the People, in several Particulars
 ‘ of the Articles of Peace, render’d him-
 ‘ self incapable of continuing that great
 ‘ Trust any longer, being questionable
 ‘ before his Majesty, for the aforesaid In-
 ‘ juries and ill Government (to which Ef-
 ‘ fect, we will joyn with other Members
 ‘ of this Kingdom, in drawing a Charge
 ‘ against him) and we hereby manifest
 ‘ unto the People, that they are no long-
 ‘ er obliged to obey the Orders and Com-
 ‘ mands, of the said Marquess of *Ormond*,
 ‘ but are, until a General Assembly of the
 ‘ Na-

' Nation can be conveniently called toge-
 ' ther, unanimously to serve against the
 ' Common Enemy, for the Defence of
 ' *Catholick* Religion, his Majesty's Interest,
 ' their Liberties, Lives and Fortunes: In
 ' pursuance of the Oath of Association,
 ' and to observe in the mean Time, the
 ' Form of Government the said Congre-
 ' gation shall prescribe, until otherwise
 ' ordered by an Assembly, or until, by
 ' Application to his Majesty, he settle the
 ' same otherwise. And we do fulminate
 the annexed Excommunication of one Date
 with this Declaration, against all Opposers
 of the said Declaration.

It would probably appear as unnecessa-
 ry, and might be thought an uncharitable
 Sharpness to inveigh against, or to observe
 by Gloss or Paraphrase the Logick, and
 unavoidable Consequence of the Doctrine,
 and particular Conclusion in this monstrous
 Declaration; since all the sober Professors
 of the *Roman* Catholick Religion abhorred
 it, as aiming at, and (indeed) assuming
 Jurisdiction, which the united Body of the
 Prelates and Clergy in no oue Catholick
 Kingdom or Country in *Christendom* do pre-
 tend to have, and containing such Clauses,
 which by the established Laws of every
 Kingdom and Country in *Christendom* are
 manifestly treasonable; and it is much more
 requisite to vindicate the Marquess from
 the

the very natural Imputation of Levity, and most supine Remissness of Government, for not chastising and suppressing that seditious Spirit in the Clergy, which from the very Conclusion of the Peace, perplexed and distracted him in whatsoever he went about, and infusing Jealousies and Distrusts into the Hearts of the People: And that he did not upon this last transcendent Treason of the Bishops, seize upon their Persons, and proceed against them in an exemplary Way of Justice, at least that he did not apprehend the Ring-leaders of them, after they had published their wicked and rebellious Excommunication, and taken some sudden Vengeance upon them, by any Act of Out-rage, when there was no Means for a formal Proceeding by the common Rules of Justice, before the Effects of their Presumption should have been discerned, by the shrinking away and disbanding those few Troops, which then remained, and there is no Doubt, but he will be thought by all, who are not enough acquainted with the Temper of that People, much more liable to Reproaches of that Kind, than the other of Rigour and Severity against the *Roman Catholicks*, of which he was not in the least Degree guilty: But the Truth is, he will easily be absolved from that Reprehension, by all who are sufficiently informed of the incredible
and

and unreasonable Reverence, which the common People of the Nation pay their Clergy of what inferior Rank soever, and that they have all their Directions and Determinations in that obscure Veneration; that when a Regiment hath been marching by the Orders of their General, a seditious Fryer hath put himself into the Head of them, taking the Colours in his Hand, and pronouncing Damnation to those who would presume to march; whereupon, notwithstanding all the Commands of their Superior Officers (who though *Roman Catholicks*) were for the most part scandaliz'd at the Demeanour of the Clergy; all the Soldiers have thrown down their Arms, and departed to their several Habitations, as it fell out in an Expedition at *Kilkenny*.

Nor was it possible for the Marquess to procure Justice to be inflicted in a Civil or Martial Way upon an Ecclesiastical Person, let his Crime be what it would, since even those whose Zeal or Affection to his Majesty's Service was unquestionable, and who were as highly offended at the intolerable Carriage of the Proceeding of the Bishops and Clergy, as they ought to be, and whose Duty was not in the least Degree shaken by the Declaration and Excommunication, were yet so tender of those Immunities and Privileges, which were said to belong to the Church, and so

jealous of the Behaviour of the People in any Case, which would be declared a Violation of those Privileges, that they would by no means have any Hand in inflicting capital Punishment on any Churchman, without the Approbation and Cooperation of the *Bishops*, who were not like to be so hard-hearted, as to consent to any Judgment upon the Accessories in these Crimes, in which themselves were the Principals; so that he must not only have determined by his own single Will and Judgment, what was to be done in those Cases, but he must have executed these Determinations with his own Hand; and this Consideration obliged the Marquess to all those Condescensions and Sufferings, and upon all Occasions to endeavour to dispose, and dissuade those Prelates from any obstinate and ruinous Resolutions, rather than to declare them to be Enemies, whom he could neither reform, nor punish.

The Excommunication was no sooner published by the Congregation, and consented to, and approved by the other Part of the Bishops and Clergy who were sitting at *Gallway*, but they quickly discerned how imprudently, as well as unwarrantably, they had proceeded in order to their own Ends, and that they had taken Care only to dissolve and disband the For-

ces,

The Consequences of the wild Proceedings of the Irish Prelates.

ces, without making any Kind of Provision for the Opposition of the Rebels, who had quickly Notice of their ridiculous Madness, and were thereupon advancing with their whole Power upon them; the People who generally foresaw, what must be the Issue of that Confusion, thought of nothing but compounding with the *Rebels* upon any Conditions; the Nobility, and principal Gentry, and the Commissioners of Trust, who saw the whole Power and Jurisdiction wrested from them, and assumed, and exercised by the Congregation, continued their Application to the Lord Lieutenant, to desire him not to leave them exposed to the Confusion which must attend his Departure. The gravest, most pious Spirits of the Clergy lamented the unskilful Spirits of the rest, and even some of the Bishops, and those who were present at the Congregation, and subscribed the Excommunication, disclaimed their having consented to it, though they were obliged to sign it for Conformity; so that they found it necessary within less than three Days, to suspend that dreadful Sentence; and yet that it might appear, how unwillingly they did those Acts of Gentleness and Sobriety, it will not be amiss to set down the Letter itself, which the Titular Bishop of *Clonfort*, and Dr. *Charles Kelly* wrote to the Officers of the Army under the Command
of

of the Lord Marquess of *Clanrickard*, to that Purpose, which was in these Words,

‘ YESTERDAY we received an Ex-^{Letter to}
 ‘ press from the rest of our Congre-^{suspend the}
 ‘ gation at *Gallway* bearing this Sense, to ^{Excommu-}
 ‘ suspend the Effect of the Excommuni-^{nication.}
 ‘ cation proclaimed by their Order, till
 ‘ the Service of *Athlone* be performed,
 ‘ fearing on the one Side, a dispersing of
 ‘ the Army; and on the other, having
 ‘ received certain Intelligence of the Ene-
 ‘ mies Approach to that Place, with their
 ‘ Force and Number of fighting Men; and
 ‘ thereupon would have us concur with
 ‘ them, in suspending the said Excommu-
 ‘ nication: As for our Parts, we judge
 ‘ that Suspension unnecessary and full of
 ‘ Inconvenience, which we apprehend may
 ‘ ensue, because the Excommunication may
 ‘ be obeyed, and the Service not neglected,
 ‘ if the People were pleased to undertake
 ‘ the Service in the Clergy’s Name, with-
 ‘ out relating to the Lord of *Ormond*, or
 ‘ any that may take his Part; yet fearing
 ‘ the Censure of Singularity in a Matter
 ‘ against us, or to be deemed forwarder
 ‘ in excommunicating than others: Also
 ‘ fearing the Weakness of some (which we
 ‘ believe the Congregation feared) we are
 ‘ pleased to follow the major Vote, and
 ‘ against our own Opinion concur with
 Q ‘ them;

A VINDICATION of

‘ them; and do hereby suspend the said
 ‘ Censure as above; provided always, that
 ‘ after the Service performed, or the Ser-
 ‘ vice be thought unnecessary by the Cler-
 ‘ gy, or when the said Clergy shall renew
 ‘ it, it shall be presently incurred, as if
 ‘ the said Suspension had never been in-
 ‘ terposed, and so we remain,’

Corbie, Sept.
16, 1650.

Your assured Loving

Friends in Christ,

WALTER, *Bishop of Clonfert.*

CHARLES KELLY.

If these authentick Truths (whereof there is not room for the least Doubt) were not inserted, who could believe it possible, that Men indued with common Understanding, and professing the Doctrine of Christianity and Allegiance of Subjects, could, upon Deliberation, publish such Devices? And who can wonder, that a People enslaved to, and conducted by, such spiritual Leaders, should become a Prey to an Enemy, tho' supplied with less Power, Vigilance, and Dexterity, than those prosperous Rebels always were; who have prevailed against them, and who by all Kind of Reproaches, Rigour and Tyranny,

ranny, have made that unhappy Congregation pay dear Interest for the Contempt and Indignity, with which they prosecuted their Sovereign, and his Authority.

Though most of the Commissioners of ^{*The King*} Trust, and the principal Nobility, and the ^{*forced to*} most considerable Gentry, remain'd in their ^{*Acts which*} particular Affection and Resolution, firm ^{*gave Coun-*} and unshaken in their Devotion to the ^{*tenance to*} King, and in their Submission to the Au- ^{*this Beha-*} thority of his Lieutenant; (notwithstanding ^{*viour of the*} the Declaration and Excommunication) yet ^{*Irish Pre-*} there fell out an unhappy Accident, which, in this Juncture, seemed to give some Countenance, and did procure such Submission to that extravagant Behaviour of the Clergy. The King was in *Scotland*, and was about that Time by the Force and Rigour of that Party, which was then possessed of the whole Power in the Kingdom, absolutely forced to consent: that is, to set his Hand to several Papers, which were proposed and brought to him, and without the doing whereof, he was plainly told, he should have no Power or Authority over the People, not without Implication enough, that his Person would not long remain at Liberty, and they, who would have opposed those Proceedings both for Matter and Manner, if they had been able, were as importunate with his Majesty to redeem himself from the Mischiefs

which threaten'd him, by complying with what he could not controul, as the only Means to recover that Power which was usurped from him, and which indeed he did in a short Time reduce to the proper Channel. Amongst the Papers so obtain'd as aforesaid, there was a Declaration in his Majesty's Name, *by which the Peace concluded with the Irish Catholicks in the Year 1648, by Authority of the late King of ever glorious Memory, and confirmed by his Majesty who now reigns, was pronounced and adjudged void, and that his Majesty was absolved from any Observation of it*; and this not grounded on those particular Breaches, Violations and Affronts, which had been offered to his Majesty's Authority, and contrary to the express Articles, Provisoos, and Promises of that Treaty of Peace; but upon the supposed Unlawfulness of concluding any Peace with those Persons, who were branded with many ignominious Reproaches. Albeit, this Declaration issued (in Point of Time) in *Scotland*, after the Excommunication at *Jamestown*, yet the Notice of it came so near the Time of the Publication of the other, that the Clergy inserted it in their Declaration, as if it had been one of the principal Causes and Foundations of the Excommunication, and depriving his Majesty of his Authority, and the Affections of all the People, who
were

were concerned in Interest to have the Peace observed (which they looked upon, as the only Foundation of the Security for the Nation, and their particular Fortunes) and were willing to hearken to any Councils, which were most like to provide that the Peace should be made effectual and valid to them.

When the Marquess first heard Mention of the Declaration in *Scotland*, he did really believe it a Forgery, contrived either by the *English Rebels*, or the *Irish Congregation*, to seduce the People from their Affection and Loyalty to the King; but when soon after, he was assured what Condition his Majesty was in, and that in Truth such a Declaration was published in his Name, he immediately issued his Order for a Meeting of an Assembly at *Loghbreagh* on the 15th of *November*; and in the mean Time, on the 2d of *October*, for the better composing the Minds of Men, and preventing those Distempers which might be infused, he wrote to the Commissioners of Trust, and took Notice of that Declaration, which was published in *Scotland*, and told them; ‘ That however the Affronts
 ‘ put upon his Majesty had been many, and
 ‘ were obstinately persisted in to that Day,
 ‘ and in such Places, whereupon evidently
 ‘ depended the Preservation or Loss of the
 ‘ whole Kingdom, whereof he had several

*Conduct of
the Mar-
quess on the
King's for-
ced Decla-
ration.*

*His Letter
to the Com-
missioners
of Trust.*

‘ Times given Notice unto them, and fol-
‘ lowed the Ways advised by them, for
‘ reclaiming the said Places, without Suc-
‘ cess; yet considering the Declaration gain-
‘ ed from his Majesty was without what
‘ could be said by the Nation in their own
‘ Defence, and such as involved it, gene-
‘ rally without Exception, in the Guilt of
‘ Rebellion: He thought fit to let them
‘ know, that since the said Declaration
‘ was, by undue Means, obtained from his
‘ Majesty, he was resolved, by all the
‘ Means it should please God to offer to
‘ him, and through all Hazards in the Be-
‘ half of the Nation to insist upon, and
‘ assert the Lawfulness of the Conclusion
‘ of that Peace, by Virtue of the aforesaid
‘ Authority; and that the said Peace was
‘ still valid and binding to his Majesty,
‘ and all his Subjects: And herein he told
‘ them, he was resolved, by the Help of
‘ God, to persist, until both himself, and
‘ such as should in that Behalf be intrusted
‘ and authorized by the Nation, should
‘ have free and safe Access to his Majesty;
‘ and until, upon mature and unrestrained
‘ Consideration, on what might on all Sides
‘ be said, his Majesty should have declared
‘ his Royal Pleasure upon those Affronts,
‘ that had been put upon his Authority;
‘ provided, that upon this Engagement of
‘ his, *First*, That all the Acts, Declarati-
‘ ons,

‘ ons, and Excommunication, issued by the
‘ Bishops against his Authority, and the
‘ People’s giving Obedience thereunto,
‘ should be by them revoked, and such
‘ Assurance given as should be agreed by
‘ him, and the Commissioners of Trust,
‘ that they, nor any of them, should at-
‘ tempt the like for the future, and that
‘ they should contain themselves within the
‘ Bounds prescribed by the Articles of
‘ Peace, whereto they were Parties. *Se-*
‘ *condly*, That it should immediately be de-
‘ clared by the Commissioners of Trust,
‘ that the said Declaration, and Excom-
‘ munication, and other Proceedings of the
‘ said Bishops, was an unwarrantable Usur-
‘ pation upon his Majesty’s Authority, and
‘ in them a Violation of the Peace; and
‘ that in case the Bishops should not give
‘ the Assurance before exprest, or having
‘ given it, should not observe the same;
‘ that they would endeavour to bring the
‘ Offenders to condign Punishment, pursu-
‘ ant to, and as is prescribed by the Laws
‘ of the Kingdom. *Thirdly*, That the like
‘ Declaration should be made from all that
‘ drew Authority from his Majesty, Civil
‘ or Martial, and by the respective Mayors,
‘ Aldermen, Common Council Men, Bur-
‘ gesses, and other Magistrates in the Cor-
‘ porations of the Kingdom. *Fourthly*,
‘ That the Lord Lieutenant should be

A VINDICATION of

' permitted to make his free and safe Re-
 ' sidence in any Place he should choose,
 ' within the Limits not possess'd by the Re-
 ' bels. *Fifthly*, That he should be imme-
 ' diately suffer'd to put Garrisons in all
 ' such Places, and in such Manner, accord-
 ' ing to the Articles of Peace, as he should
 ' find necessary for the Defence of the
 ' Kingdom. In the last Place, He wished
 ' them, that some Course might be taken
 ' for his Support, in some Proportion an-
 ' swerable to his Place, yet with Regard
 ' to the State of the Kingdom, which last
 ' he said he should not propose, but that
 ' he was deprived of all his own Fortunes,
 ' whereupon he had wholly subsisted ever
 ' since his coming into the Kingdom.'

The Commissioners of Trust received
 his Letter with all Demonstration of Re-
 spect and Satisfaction, and the very next
 Day returned him an Answer, in which,
 after they had lamented the issuing out of
 this Proclamation in *Scotland*; they said,

Answer of
the Com-
missioners. ' It greatly comforted them to understand
 ' that his Excellency was resolved, thro'
 ' all Hazards, in Behalf of the Nation, to
 ' insist upon, and to assert the Peace, and
 ' persist in so doing, until he, or such as
 ' should be intrusted and authorized by
 ' the Nation, should have free and safe
 ' Access to his Majesty, and to those Pro-
 ' positions, which were express'd as necessa-
 ' ry

‘ ry Conditions for the Continuance of his
‘ Majesty’s Authority among them. Which
‘ they said they did (notwithstanding the
‘ said Declaration) still embrace and reve-
‘ rence; beside their general Profession to
‘ act what lay within their Power, in the
‘ Ways of his Majesty’s Service, and to the
‘ Satisfaction of his Lieutenant, they re-
‘ turned these ensuing Answers.’

As to the First, Concerning the Revo-
cation of the Acts, Declarations, and Ex-
communication, issued by the Bishops, and
Assurance demanded, that nothing of that
Kind should be attempted for the future:
They said, ‘ That his Excellency (to whom
‘ they had often exprest their Resentment
‘ of such their Proceedings) might be con-
‘ fident, they would labour, as far as in
‘ them lay, to see his Majesty satisfied in
‘ that Particular; and to that End, they
‘ would all, or some of them, with his
‘ Allowance, as he should think fit, repair
‘ to *Gallway*, to treat with the Prelates
‘ upon that Subject.’ Unto the Second
they answered, ‘ That albeit they knew,
‘ that by the Censures of the Bishops, his
‘ Majesty’s Authority was invaded, and an
‘ unwarranted Government set up, con-
‘ trary to the Laws of the Kingdom; and
‘ that they were assured, no Subject could
‘ be justly warranted to deny Obedience
‘ to his Majesty’s Authority in his Excel-
‘ lency:

‘ lency: Yet being of Opinion, that a
‘ publick Declaration of that Kind, in that
‘ Juncture of Affairs, ought properly (and
‘ would with more Countenance and Au-
‘ thority) move from an Assembly, than
‘ from them, and that from such publick
‘ Declarations at that Time, from them-
‘ selves, they should obstruct the Way to
‘ prevail with the Prelates to withdraw
‘ those Censures or Acts, which was desir-
‘ ed by the former Proposition; and like-
‘ wise endanger the Union that was neces-
‘ sary at present, in opposing the common
‘ Enemy, and prejudice the Hope of a
‘ more perfect Union for the future;
‘ wherein the Preservation of the Nation
‘ would principally consist. They did
‘ therefore humbly beseech his Excellency,
‘ to call an Assembly of the Nation, from
‘ whom such a Declaration as might be
‘ effectual in that Behalf, and might settle
‘ those Distractions could only proceed;
‘ yet if in the mean Time, and before the
‘ Meeting of that Assembly, those Cen-
‘ sures then suspended should be revived;
‘ they would endeavour to suppress their
‘ Influence upon the People by such a
‘ Declaration, as should become loyal
‘ Subjects, and Men intrusted to see all
‘ due Obedience paid to his Majesty’s Go-
‘ vernment over the whole Kingdom.’ To
the Third, they answered, ‘ That they
‘ would

‘ would at all Times, and in such Man-
‘ ner as his Excellency should think fit to
‘ prescribe, invite all his Majesty’s Ro-
‘ man Catholick Subjects to such a De-
‘ claration, which yet (until they should
‘ understand the Clergy’s Sense upon the
‘ first Proposition) they did humbly repre-
‘ sent as fit, for a Time, to forbear.’ To
the Fourth, they answered, ‘ That what-
‘ soever his Excellency should find to be
‘ within their Power, and would direct
‘ to be done, concerning his Place of Re-
‘ sidence for his Person, they would rea-
‘ dily obey his Lordship’s Commands there-
‘ in.’ Fifthly, they answered, ‘ That up-
‘ on Conference with his Excellency of
‘ the Places fit to be garrisoned, and the
‘ Number of Men fit to be put in them:
‘ They would, according to the Articles
‘ of Peace, use their utmost Endeavours
‘ to have such Garrisons, so agreed, ad-
‘ mitted.’ And to the Last, they said,
‘ They had at all Times been ready and
‘ willing, that his Excellency’s Charge
‘ should be supported out of the Revenue
‘ of the Kingdom, and that they were
‘ now ready to concur in assigning any of
‘ the Dues already accrued, or such as
‘ should grow due hereafter, or to impose
‘ any new Allotment upon the Subject to-
‘ wards his Maintenance.’

When the Lord Lieutenant perceived, that the Temper of the Commissioners of Trust was so different from that of the Congregation, and that in Truth, they were afflicted and scandalized at the Exorbitancy of the other, and that they thought they should be able to reduce them from the destructive Counsels they were engaged in; he would not, upon any Experience or Judgment of his own, restrain them from attempting what was not impossible to compass, and which many concluded would have been compassed, if attempted; and which, what other Effect soever it had, would make it evident, that there was not a Concurrence of the Nation in those Acts, which were likely to destroy the Kingdom. And therefore, he willingly consented, that the Commissioners should go to *Gallway*, where the Committee of the Congregation resided, whereof the Bishop of *Ferns* was one. To whom they shewed the Letter received from the Lord Lieutenant, and desired them to consider the State of the Kingdom; and to know from them, what they conceived remaining, that might tend best to the Preservation of the Nation and themselves: They told them, that no Union could be had for the Preservation of the Nation, without keeping the King's Authority amongst them, for that many of the most considerable would instantly

Commissioners of Trust exposed to the Committee of the Congregation of the Prelates

stantly make their Conditions with the Enemy, if the King's Authority were taken away; and that there was no Hope of keeping or leaving that Authority, but by revoking the Excommunication and Declaration; for the Lord Lieutenant would not stay to keep it, nor would he leave it; nor the Marquess of *Clanrickard* undergo it, but upon those Terms: Whereupon they used all those Reasons and Arguments, which cannot but occur to all Men, who are not blinded with Passion and Prejudice, to reduce them to such a Retraction as could only advance the Happiness, or indeed the Subsistence of the Nation.

But the Roman Catholick Bishops were inexorable, and instead of abating any of that Fury they had formerly express'd, they added new Contumelies and Reproaches to the Authority of the King.

They said, ' They observed by the Lord *Their Answer to the Commissioners of Trust.*
 ' Lieutenant's Letter, that he informed his
 ' Majesty of Disobedience and Affronts
 ' that had been put upon his Authority; and
 ' consequently, that he had suggested Matter
 ' unto his Majesty, for making that
 ' Declaration which had been published
 ' in *Scotland*, disowning the Peace; and
 ' that they were of Opinion, for ought
 ' appeared unto them, that the King had
 ' withdrawn his Commission and Authority
 ' from the Lord Lieutenant. That

‘ in the said Declaration, the *Irish* Nation
‘ (as bloody Rebels) were cast from the
‘ Protection of the King’s Laws, and royal
‘ Favour; and therefore it might be pre-
‘ sumed, that he would not have his Au-
‘ thority kept over such a Nation, to go-
‘ vern them. That they had been of Opi-
‘ nion, and all their Endeavours had been
‘ employed to keep the King’s Authority
‘ over them; but when his Majesty throws
‘ away the Nation, as Rebels, from his
‘ Protection, withdrawing his own Autho-
‘ rity, they could not understand the Mys-
‘ tery of preserving the same with them,
‘ nor how it could be done. That they
‘ believed the best Remedy (the King’s
‘ Authority being taken away by that De-
‘ claration) of meeting the Inconvenience
‘ of the People’s closing with the Parlia-
‘ ment, is the returning to the Confede-
‘ racy, as, they said, was intended by the
‘ Nation, in Case of the Breach of Peace
‘ on his Majesty’s Part. This they said
‘ would keep an Union among them, if
‘ Men would not be precipitately guilty
‘ of the Breach of the Oath of Associati-
‘ on, which Oath, by two solemn Orders
‘ of two several Assemblies, was to conti-
‘ nue binding, if any Breach of the Arti-
‘ cles of Peace should happen on his Ma-
‘ jesty’s Part: That the King’s Authority,
‘ and the Lord Lieutenant’s Commission
‘ being

‘ being recalled by that Declaration; they
‘ were of Opinion, that the Lord Lieute-
‘ nant had no Authority to leave, and if
‘ they must expose their Lives and For-
‘ tunes to the Hazard of Fighting, to the
‘ making good that Peace, seeing the
‘ Danger was alike, to defend that, or get
‘ a better Peace; why should they bind
‘ themselves within the Limits of those
‘ Articles so disowned.’ And so with several Tautologies urged the Declaration in *Scotland*, as a Ground and Excuse for all their Proceedings, when what they had done, was before the issuing of any such Declaration. They concluded, ‘ They
‘ could not consent with Safety of Conscience to the revoking their Declaration
‘ and Excommunication, as demanded by
‘ the Lord Lieutenant, nor to give Assurance to him, or the Commissioners of
‘ Trust, for not attempting the like for
‘ the future.’

They would not make this Declaration in a Case of Conscience, of so vast an Extent and Importauce, without setting down their Reasons under their Hands, which it would not be reasonable (for the Doctrine’s Sake) to conceal from the World, that it may better judge of those spiritual Guides (for I do heartily wish, that the Conclusions which were made, and the Ruin which follow’d from thence,
may

may not at any Time reflect, to the Prejudice of more than the particular Persons, who made themselves guilty of that Mass of Mischief, and towards whom I shall not labour in any Apology.)

1. The first Reason was, because the King's Authority was not in the Lord Lieutenant, nor was then in them (they said) Power to confer a new Authority on him, which would be destructive to the Nation, if it continued in him, and *was like to prove a Preservative*, if in another, and that they said was their Sense, when they declared against the Authority in his Person. So that tho' they had Presumption to take the King's Authority out of his Lieutenant's Hand, by their Declaration and Excommunication, and to inhibit all Men to submit to it, they had now the Modesty to confess, they had not Power to confer any new Authority on him, their Faculty of destroying was better than that of preserving.

2. Their second was, They feared they should lose the few Churches remaining under his Government, as they had lost under him all the Churches of *Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford*, and the rest, in which (they said) they agreed with the *Maccabees, Maximus & primus pro sanctitate Timor erat Templi*. By whose ill Government those Cities were lost appears by what hath been

been said before, and how well the few that were then left were kept after they had forced the Marquess to depart the Kingdom, it is too well known unto the World.

3. The third Reason they thought fit to offer, was, Because the Lord Lieutenant had declared at *Cork*, that he would maintain, during his Life, the Protestant Religion according to the Example of the best reformed Churches, which might be the same with the Covenant, for ought they knew, they said they would not expect from him the Defence of the Catholick Religion; which was a strange Objection against a Protestant Lieutenant of a Protestant King, under whose Government they pretended to be desirous to live; and whatsoever had been declared by the Lord Lieutenant at *Cork*, in that Particular, was before the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, and published and printed, and well known to the Bishops, who after the same (notwithstanding that Declaration) with all the Demonstrations of Chearfulness, gave their Consent to that Peace, which they now think fit to break, because of that Declaration.

4. The fourth Reason was cast in the same Mould, the Scandal over the World; to make Choice of one of a different Religion, especially in *Rome*, where his Holiness expected that a Catholick Government should be placed over them; and they

R

said

said they did fear the Scourges of War and Plague, that were fallen so heavy upon them, were some Evidence of God's Anger, for putting God's Cause, and the Church's, under such Hands: Whereas that Trust might have been managed in a Catholick Hand under the King's Authority, which Reason had indeed most Ingenuity in it; and whenever they digested their Malice and their Prejudice in those personal Reproaches and Calumnies which they know to be most untrue. If they had frankly declared and excepted against him for being a Protestant, they had more complied with the Dictates and Integrity of their Hearts; and yet it might appear a very unskilful and imprudent Suggestion, to make the Humour of the Court of *Rome* the Rule of Obedience to their Sovereign, and to discourse of choosing a Person of what Religion they thought fit to be his Vicegerent, as if they thought, they, not he, were to be consulted; which would administer more Cause of Jealousy of a Protestant King unto his Protestant Subjects, if it were not as much known to them, that the whole Catholick Nobility and Gentry of the Nation were Enemies to those Resolutions which that unhappy Part of the Catholick Bishops did broach and propagate; that new destructive Doctrine, which
alone

alone hath reduced that Nation to the Calamities it now undergoes.

5. The fifth Reason was, That they should find no Favour or Countenance, but Reproach and Disgrace, from any Catholick Prince, Church, or Laity, while the Marquess governed, when in Truth, since that Time that their Proceedings have been taken Notice of, the Catholick Princes have looked upon them as incapable of any Succour or Countenance, and have accordingly left them to the Rage and Rapine of their merciless Persecutors.

Their other Reasons were more vulgar, and too oft before recited; Exceptions to his Person, in Respect of the ill Success of his Conduct, and the Prejudice the People had to him in Regard of the same; and the two considerable Corporations remaining (which were *Lymerrick* and *Galloway*) were at so great a Distance with the Lord Lieutenant, that they were thought to be resolved to appear (as in their Intentions and Actions they conceived they were) faithful to the Crown, and obedient to the King's Authority, if placed in another Person.

To which Suggestions nothing need be added to what hath been said in this Discourse of the Demeanor of those particular Places; nor can the Observation be avoided, that it was the natural Practice of this Congregation to use all their Industry and Ar-

tifice to infuse Jealousy and Sedition into the People, Distrust and Obstinacy into the Corporations, and then to urge that Jealousy, Prejudice, and Indisposition of the People and Corporations to countenance any Thing that they thought fit to do, or to oppose. They concluded, that the Event of War being uncertain, if the Nation should be reduced into a Condition of agreeing with the Enemy, the Lord Lieutenant would not be a fit Man to agree for the Exercise of their Religion, for their Churches, Altars, or any Thing concerning the same: And therefore they said, that the best Way that occurred to them in this pressing Exigency for the Union of the Nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the Enemy, was, that the Marquess of *Glancrickard* (in whom according to the Sense of the Congregation at *Jamestown*, they desired the King's Authority might be left) might govern the Nation with Consent of all Parties, and the King's Authority be taken from the Lord Lieutenant until an Assembly; and to that End, that a free and lawful Assembly might be made to sit and judge upon the People's Preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the Defence of the Nation, and touching the King's Authority to be kept over them, and the Peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the
Assoeia-

Association, or any Thing else they should find best and most expedient, and unto that they would most willingly submit; for (they said) they never intended to hinder an Assembly, or to give Laws to the People: All that they endeavoured, was, to defend the Altar and Souls entrusted to them; and as they were of Opinion that the Soldiers would follow the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, and the People obey him, so they would contribute their best Endeavours to that Effect. They farther gave Assurance, that if any free and lawful Assembly, upon due Consideration of their State and Condition, should find it the best Way, for their own Safety and Preservation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy, as they intended never, by the Grace of God, to grant away from them by an affirmative Consent, the Churches (if forced from them they were blameless) so would they not hinder the People from compounding with the Enemy for the Safety of their Lives and Estates, when no Way of Defence was appearing, though upon such an Agreement they saw, that they alone should probably be Losers of Lives, Estates, Churches, Altars, Immunities and Liberties; but in such Contracts with the Enemy, if any should happen, (which they wished God would avert) they should pray and conjure the Catholicks of *Ireland*, that

that of *Maccabees* might be recorded of them to future Ages: *Erat pro uxoribus, & filiis, pro fratribus & cognatis minor solitudo, maximus vero, & primus, pro sanctitate erat Timor Templi.*

And this was the Answer delivered to the Commissioners of Trust upon the 5th of November 1650, at *Gallway*, by the titular Bishops of *Killalah, Fernes, Kilme-dough, Kilfinorah* and *Dromore*, after several and long Conferences with the Commissioners of Trust, who were entrusted by the Nation, upon the Proposals made by the Lord Lieutenant, and the before recited Commissioners. At the Conference being likewise Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Sir *Richard Barn-wall*, Sir *Richard Everard*, Mr. *Richard Beling*, Mr. *Jeffery Brown*, and Dr. *Fennell*, all eminent Persons in their Fortunes and Interests, and in the Trust and Confidence of the confederate Catholicks. I take very much Pleasure in remembring (which makes me say it on all Occasions, to prevent that usual Prejudice which is too frequently let loose upon whole Nations, Communities, and Professions, for the Guilt and Errors of particular Persons, Officers and Professions) that not only the whole Nobility and Gentry of Fortune and Interest, some very few excepted, but many learned and pious Men of the secular and regular Clergy, and even some of their Bishops, did abhor and abomi-

abominate the Proceedings of this Congregation, and the Doctrine they infused into the People; and the same was disown'd by some of those Bishops who were last mentioned, as being obtruded on them by the major Vote, or done by their Procurator, without their Assent or Knowledge: I say, I take more Pleasure in remembring this, than inserting such incredible Actions, Arguments, and Discourses, and making sharp, tho' deserved Reflections on that unhappy, unprelatical, uncatholick Congregation, which can never be look'd upon, by the wise Men of any Profession, as consisting of a grave Temper, or loyal Persons, but as factious, rash, violent, and disloyal Men, assembled without Authority, transported with Spleen, Arrogance, and Ambition; taking Advantage of the ill Success whereof themselves were guilty, as the Marquess had said in his Letter of the 2d of *December*, which he sent to the Assembly at *Loghbreagh* when he left the Kingdom; of which Letter, if an exact Copy could have been gotten, this Discourse would have been needless, there being so ample a Vindication of whatsoever was or could be said against him in the other: Nor can any Man avoid observing, by the express Words of the Conclusion, upon the Reasons in their Conference with the Commissioners, that tho' they seem'd to desire that the Marquess

of *Clanrickard* (whose Zeal to the Catholick Religion and Interest in the Nation was so notorious and confess'd, that they durst not repine publickly at his known Affection and Integrity to the King) might govern the Nation with the Consent of all Parties, and that the King's Authority in the Lord Lieutenant might be left in him; yet they declared they meant it should only be until an Assembly (which they well knew by the expresse Terms of the Articles of Peace could be only lawfully convened by the Lord Lieutenant) and then that Assembly should judge of the People's Preservation, and to decree and order what should be the best and safest for the Defence of the Nation, the Peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the Association, or any Thing else they should find best and most expedient; so that they intended no other Honour to the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, than that by his Countenance and Reputation they might persuade the Lord Lieutenant to leave the King's Authority behind him, and that he should call an Assembly, (which they would otherwise do themselves) and which they were sure should be constituted, for the most Part, of such Men as would follow their Dictates, by which himself should be divested of that Power, and the King deposed from any farther Dominion over them, when they could persuade

suade any foreign Prince to take them into his Protection, which Practice they quickly set on Foot afterwards, and for the farther Manifestation of their Affection and Loyalty to the King, which they cannot indure should yet be called in Question: It is observable, that those Men who had so often contradicted and controuled the exprefs Acts of every Assembly that had been convened since the Beginning of the Troubles, and now commanded the People, under Pain of Damnation, not to any Obedience to the King's Authority in his Lieutenant; and declared, that they could not, with Safety of their Consciences, consent to the Propositions which he had lately made for the uniting of the Nation, in Defence of the Peace so advantageous to their Liberty and Religion, which the Commissioners intrusted by, and for the Nation, thought so reasonable; these Men, I say, made no Scruple of professing and declaring, that if an Assembly, upon due Consideration of their Estate and Condition, should find it the best Way, for their Safety and Preservation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy (the Rebels of *England*, who had murdered their late Sovereign with those inhumane Circumstances, and profest the Extirpation of their Religion and Nation, and had massacred, and reproachfully executed so many

ny of their Bishops and Clergy in cold Blood) they could not hinder the People from compounding with them, for the Safety of their Lives and Estates ; which being seriously considered, we cannot sufficiently wonder at the strange stupid Resignation of their Understandings, who believed, or rather at the wonderful Contempt of those Understandings, in those who could persuade them to believe, that this Congregation had loyal Purposes toward the King, or that they never intended to hinder the Assembly, or give Law to the People, when they cancelled all fundamental Laws, broke through all Acts of their own Assembly, and forbade the People to pay any Obedience to the King's Lieutenant, who had only the lawful Power of Government over them, the more extravagant and unreasonable these Proceedings were of the *Congregation* and Clergy, the more confident many honest and wise Men were, that an Assembly of the Nation would regulate and controul that unlimited Power, and utterly disavow all that they had done : And therefore, they that were exceedingly offended and enraged against the Congregation, were as solicitous and importunate with the Lord Lieutenant to call an Assembly, and though he had too much Experience of the Nature and Temper of the People, and of the

transcendent Power the Clergy, would still have over any Assembly, (or at least over the People, when the Assembly had done what it could) to hope for any good Effect from it; and though he saw he should thereby the more expose his own Honour, and (which he considered much more) the Dignity of his Master to new Insolencies, yet since he resolved to leave the Kingdom himself, and was unresolved whether he should leave the King's Authority behind him liable to the same Indignities and Affronts in the Person of the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, which it had been subject to in his own, and could have no Kind of Assurance, that it should not, but by the Profession and Protestation of an Assembly, he did resolve to call one, and issued out his Letters to that Purpose for Meeting the 15th of November at *Logbreah*, where they met accordingly, and the Bishops for removing (as they said) of any Jealousies, that any might apprehend of their Proceedings, declared and protested, *That by their Excommunication and Declaration at Jamestown in August last, they had no other Aim than the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, and the People, and they did not purpose to make any Usurpation on his Majesty's Authority, nor, on the Liberty of the People; confessing, That it did not belong to their Jurisdiction so to do;* with

Lord Lieutenant calls an Assembly at Logbreah.

Protestation of the Bishops.

with which Protestation (so contrary to what they had done, and which in Truth they had so often made; when even at the same Time they did all Things contrary to it) the Assembly was satisfied, and did not so much as make another Protestation,

The Assembly satisfied therewith.

Which makes the Lord Lieutenant resolve to leave the Kingdom without a Deputy.

That the Bishops had done what they ought not to do, nor exacted a Promise from them, that they would not do the like in Time to come. So that the Lord Lieutenant was resolved to look no more for Satisfaction from them, nor expose the King's Authority further, by leaving any Deputy behind him, but prepared the best he could to depart the Kingdom, a small Frigate attending for that Service.

Letter from the Assembly to the Lord Lieutenant on that Resolution.

When the Assembly understood his Resolution, and saw plainly that he was ready to depart, his Goods and many of his Servants being on Board, they sent four of the Members of their House to him, with an Instrument in Writing, in which they repeated the Declaration and Protestation made by the Bishops, mentioned before, upon Consideration of which, and their Professions to that Purpose in the Assembly, and of his Excellency's Letter dated the 16th of November last, recommending to them as the chief End, for which the Assembly was called, the removing of all Divisions as the best Way to their Preservation; they said, that the Lords Spiritual and

Tem-

Temporal, and the Gentry met in that Assembly, conceived, *That there was not a better Foundation or Ground for their Union, than their holding to, and obeying his Majesty's Authority, to which they owned, and ought to pay all dutiful Obedience; and they did thereby declare and protest, that the Allegiance unto his Majesty's Authority was such, and so inherent in them, that they could not be withdrawn from the same; nor was there any Power in the Lords Spiritual or Temporal, Gentry or People, Clergy or Laity of the Kingdom, that could alter or change, or take away his Majesty's Authority; they holding that to be the chiefest Flower of the Crown, and the Support of the People's Liberties, which they did thereby declare, protest, and avow, and that they did esteem the same, and Obedience thereunto, essentially, inviolably, and justly due from them, and the chiefest Means under God to uphold their Union and Preservation; to which they said, he had Relations of highest Concernment in Blood, Alliance and Interest to leave that Authority with them, in some Person faithful to his Majesty, and acceptable to the Nation; to which Person, when he should be made known unto them, they would not only afford all due Obedience, but would also offer and propose the best Ways and Means, that God would please to direct them to, for the Preservation of his Majesty's Rights, and the Peoples Interest, and Liberty,*
and

and for the begetting a ready Obedience in all Places and Persons unto his Majesty's Authority.

*Lord Lieutenant's
Answer.*

This Advice, though it carried with it a particular Respect from the Assembly to the Lord Lieutenant, and an Acknowledgment of the faithful and hearty Affection, he had always had for his Majesty's Interest and Service in that Kingdom, contrary to that scandalous Declaration, gave not the Marquess the least Confidence, that his Majesty's Authority, would find more Respect in the Person of another, than it had met with in him; therefore he wrote to them by the same Messenger. *That he had sent the Authority to the Lord Marquess of Clanrickard to govern, that his Majesty's Kingdom and People; provided, that the Declaration might be so far explained, as to give the Marquess of Clanrickard full Satisfaction, that the Expression they made, touching the Obedience they owned, and resolved to pay unto his Majesty's Authority, was meant the Authority placed in his Lordship, or any other Governour deriving or holding his Authority from his Majesty, and that they esteemed it not in the Power of any Person, Congregation, or Assembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the People free from obeying his Lordship, or any other such Governour, during the Continuance of the said Authority in him, without which (he said) he could not (in Duty to his Majesty)*
leave

leave the Authority subject to be tossed to and fro at the uncertain Fancy of any Man or Men, without any Probability of saving the Nation, which could no otherwise be effected, than by an absolute chearful Obedience in the People, unto the Authority placed over them, &c. And ^{He deposes the Mar-ques of} *Clanrickard* (who submitted to the Charge out of pure Obedience, and only that he might not decline what, they would say, might have preserved the Nation) not to assume the Charge, unless the Assembly gave him full Satisfaction in the Particulars required by them, — The Lord Lieutenant about ^{Leaves Ireland.} the Middle of *December*, 1650. imbarqued himself in a small Vessel for *France*, after he had refused to receive a Pass from *Iretton*, who offered it; choosing rather to trust the Seas and Winds in that rough and boisterous Season of the Year, than to receive an Obligation from the Rebels; and so having been tossed at Sea, for the Space of some Weeks, and his other Ships in which his Servants and Goods, and many other Persons perished, being lost in the Storm, himself arrived in *France*. ^{And lands in France.}

If the End of this Discourse were only to vindicate the Marquess of *Ormond*, from those loose Reproaches and groundless Calumnies with which bold Writers have endeavoured to asperse him; it might be very well concluded hereafter, it hath clearly intanced

stanced the insupportable Wants, Weaknesses and Distractions he was to struggle with, even from the first Minute of the Conclusion of Peace, and when he seemed to be attended with the most Success, and so fully in Power. The vast Supplies, Wealth, Power, and (which makes the rest superior to the greatest and most difficult Designs) the Union of the most prosperous Rebels; and on the other Side, the Weakness, Poverty, and Unskilfulness of the *Irish*, their Want of Money, of Arms, Victuals, Officers, and of Discipline, which would make any Plenty unsuccessful; the abundant Want of Union, Direction and Obedience to the superior Commander; the Rebellion of the incorporate Towns against all Commands, and Orders of the King's Lieutenant; and lastly, The extravagant and unlimited Power of the most illiterate, and worst affected Party of the Clergy over the Consciences and Understandings of the People: I say, all these Particulars being so undeniably evinced, the World (at least the sober Part of it) will be very easily satisfied: That the Marquess of *Ormond* discharged the Office of a wise, vigilant, and excellent Commander, with the greatest Constancy, Courage and Integrity imaginable, and that none of the Calamities under which that unhappy Nation lies at present oppressed and

and broken, can be put upon his Accompt: But since there was, and is still, so much Profession of Duty and Obedience to the King's Authority, and all the Miscarriages and Misfortunes imputed to the Prejudice, that attended the Person of the Marquess of *Ormond*; and that the Prejudice to his Person proceeded from his Religion, being no *Romon Catholick*. It will not be an impertinent or unprofitable Expence of Time, to take a View of the Ways, which were taken to preserve the Nation, to advance the King's Service, and the Obedience that was paid to his Majesty's Authority, after it was placed in the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, whose Zeal and Devotion to the *Roman Catholick* Religion, hath been always as eminent and unquestionable, as his Loyalty and Integrity to the King, and whose being a *Catholick*, hath not been able to shelter him from the Virulence of those Tongues, which have endeavoured to wound and deprave the most clear, great, and excellent Persons. The very same Tongues and Pens, having with equal Licence and Malice and with the same Calumnies aspersed the one and the other; so that in Truth, Religion will be found to have the least Influence upon the Hearts of those, who have so often mentioned it, as their only Motive to those unlawful Actions, which are not consistent with any Religion.

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The Lord Lieutenant was no sooner under Sail, than the Assembly applied themselves to the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, who was then at his House at *Logbreagh*, and besought him to assume the Government of the Kingdom, as Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, according to the Power left with him by the Lord Lieutenant. But the Marquess absolutely refused to do it, except they satisfied the Provisoës in the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to him, and that he saw such an Union among them, as might free the King's Authority from the Affronts it had been exposed unto; here-upon the Assembly unanimously professed all Obedience to his Majesty's Authority, as it was vested in him, and petitioned him to assume it, without which they said the Nation would be exposed to utter Ruin; and the Bishop of *Fernes* more particularly importuned him, in the Name of the Clergy, *not to decline a Charge which could only preserve the King's Power in that Kingdom, and the Nation from Destruction, and promised so entire a Submission and Co-operation from the whole Clergy, that his Authority should not be disputed.*

Condition
of the Irish
at that
Time.

There was then in the Possession of the Roman Catholicks the Province of *Connaght*, in which they had the strong Castle of *Ath-lone*, and the strong and important Town and Harbour of *Gallway*, and many other lesser Forts

Forts and Places of Strength, a good Part of the Province of *Munster*, and in it the City of *Lymerick*, which by the strong Scituation of it, and the Advantages it might have from the Sea, could alone (with the Help and Assistance of *Gallway*) have maintained a War against the Rebels Forces in *Ireland*; they had many Parties of Horse and Foot in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Ulster*, which being drawn together, would constitute a better Army than the Rebels were in Truth Masters of: So the Marquefs had Argument enough to hope, if he could be confident of the Union of the Nation, and he might reasonably promise himself an Union of the Nation, if he could be confident of the Affections and Integrity of the Clergy; and they did now promise with that Solemnity, that if he would not be confident of them, the Fault would be imputed to him, for they could do no more on their Parts, to create a Belief in him: He was therefore contented to take the Charge upon him, and obliged them presently to consider of the Way to keep all the Forces, when he should have drawn them together, and to secure the Towns of *Lymerick* and *Gallway* with strong Garrisons, which was the first Work concluded on, on all Hands necessary to be performed.

Their Behaviour to the Lord Deputy.

Very few Days had pass'd, after the Lord Deputy had, upon such their Importunity and Professions, taken the Government upon him, when it was proposed in the Assembly (before their Condition was impaired by any further Progress, or new Success of the Rebels) that they might send to the Rebels to *treat with them, upon surrendering all that was left in their Hands,* and when the same was opposed with Indignation by the major Part of the Assembly, the Bishop of *Fernes* himself, who had so newly importuned the Lord Deputy to assume the Charge, and made such ample Promise in the Name of the Clergy, seem'd to concur with those who were against treating with the Enemy, but instead of it earnestly press'd; that *they might, in order to their better Defence, return to their ancient Confederacy, and so proceed in their Preservation, without any Respect to the King's Authority;* and this Motion found such a Concurrence in the Assembly from most of the Bishops and Clergy, and many others, that the Officers of the Army, the Principal of the Nobility and Gentry, found it necessary to express more than ordinary Passion in their Contradiction; *they told them, they now manifested, that it was not their Prejudice to the Marquess of Ormond, nor their Zeal to Religion that had transported them, but their Dislike of the*

The Bishops smartly reprehended.

the King's Authority, and their Resolution to withdraw themselves from it; that they themselves would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost Hazard, as long as they should be able, and when they should be reduced to that Extremity, that treating with the Rebels could be no longer deferred, they would, in that Treaty, make no Provision for them; but be contented, that they should be excluded from any Benefit thereof, who were so forward to exclude the King's Authority. Upon these bold, but necessary Menaces (to which they had not been accustomed) the Clergy and their Party seemed to acquiesce, and promised all Concurrence; but from this very Time, all the Factions and Jealousies which had been before amongst them were revived.

The *Irish* in all Quarters, of which the Rebels were possess'd, not only submitted and compounded, but very many of them enter'd into their Service, and marched with them in their Army; and the Lord Deputy grew as much in their Disfavour as the Lord Lieutenant had been, and his being a Friend to the Marquess of Ormond, destroyed all that Confidence, which his being a Roman Catholick had merited from them.

Notwithstanding all these Discouragements, some whereof he expected not, the Deputy issued out his Orders to all the

Lord Deputy appoints a Rendezvous.

Resolves to fight Ireton.

Forces, which for Conveniency of Quarter, and the more to infest the Rebels, were scattered over the Province, that they should meet at the general Rendezvous at the Time and Place appointed; resolving, with as much Expedition as he could, to engage the Enemy, which in Truth (with putting in so many Soldiers into those Towns and Places of Strength, which had been delivered to them, and with Sickness) was now much weakened, and he did once draw together a greater Body of Horse and Foot, than all the Forces that the Rebels could bring, would consist of, and hearing that *Ireton* (who then commanded in chief for the Rebels in the Kingdom) marched towards *Atblone*, he made all possible haste to encounter him; but after he had gone two Days march towards the Place, he received Intelligence that the Rebels (being furnished with all necessary Guides, and having much better Information of all he did from the *Irish*, than the Deputy could procure) were marched over the Mountains towards *Galloway*. Upon which Advertisment, he made what haste he could the same Way he came, and sent Orders to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, General of the Horse, to meet him, with the Forces under his Command, at a Village where the Deputy expected the Rebels, being then within less than a Mile

Mile with their main Body, and only a narrow Pass between them, which the Deputy made little Doubt of defending, until all his Forces would come up, and then resolved to fight them, which was the only Thing he desired, and believed himself to be in a very good Posture so to do. When the Earl of *Castlehaven* received his Orders to march, he took special Care to leave a single Pass (by which the Rebels might possibly get over the River of *Shannon*) well guarded, that so they might be intirely engaged at the Place, where the Deputy was without any Danger of their Rear, he did not think the guarding of the Place of any Difficulty, where there was an old strong Castle that stood even into the River, and in the Mouth of the Pass, and against which the Rebels could not plant any Ordnance to annoy it, and in this Castle he left threescore Musketeers, and withal two Troops of Horse, which was strong enough to have kept the strongest and best furnished Army from landing on that Side.

The Earl had not been marched above three Hours, when upon the Rising of a Hill he heard the Report of a few Muskets, and looking behind him, he saw the two Troops of Horse, which he had left to guard the Pass, running and dispersing with all imaginable Confusion, and with-

*Shameful
Cowardice
of the Irish
Troops.*

out being pursued by any Man; the Rebels having (it seemed) excellent and speedy Intelligence of the Earl's March, sent over two or three Boats of Musketeers from the other Side of the River, who, without the least Opposition, or having one Man hurt, landed at the Castle, which the Horse and Foot abandoned and left to their Possession; so that 'twas then in their Power to draw over as many as they would of their Army. As soon as the News was heard amongst those who marched with the Earl, without any Respect to his Person, Command, or Intreaty, or without the least Sight of an Enemy, or indeed Possibility of being pursued (for there was yet only a few Foot landed on that Side the River, and their bringing over Horse would take up much Time) they fled, dispersed, and disbanded, insomuch that of four Thousand, which in the Morning the Body consisted of, the Earl brought not with him, to the Place where the Lord Deputy was, above forty Horse; so the Deputy easily saw he was in no Case to engage the Rebels, that he should be quickly attacked in the Rear, by that Part of the Army which had already, and would speedily pass the River, and that the same Fright possessed his Men, who had hitherto kept the Bridge, and who now began to yield Ground, that in Truth very many of his
Soldiers

Soldiers had that Night run away both Horse and Foot, when they had gotten out of the Danger of the Enemies pursuit, dispersing themselves, and from this Time the Deputy could never draw any considerable and firm Body into the Field, nor make any Opposition to the Progress of the Rebels; the *Irish* in all Places submitting and compounding with them, murmuring as much against the Lord Deputy, as they had done before against the Lord Lieutenant.

Before the Lord Lieutenant left the Kingdom, he had sent the Lord Viscount *Taafe*, (who had been an Eye-witness of all his Proceedings, and had in vain laboured to compose and dispose the Minds of the Clergy to the King's Service) to give the King an Account of his Affairs; and how impossible it would be to preserve his Authority in that Kingdom, without more than ordinary Supplies from Abroad; his Lordship landed in *Flanders*, the King being then in *Scotland*, and quickly understood, how unlikely his Journey into that Kingdom, was to advance the Business for which he came, or indeed that he should be admitted to the Presence of the King, from whom most were removed that attended him thither, and hereupon he stayed in *Flanders*, and found an Opportunity to represent the Catholics of *Ireland*, in
such

Lord Taafe's Negotiation with the Duke of Lorrain.

such Manner to the Duke of *Lorrain* (who being nearly allied to the King, always professed singular Affection to his Majesty and his Interest) that in the End he prevailed with him to send some Relief, and as soon as it was known, that the Lord Lieutenant was landed in *France*, the Duke sent a Person of principal Trust about him (the *Who sends an Ambaf. Abbot of St. Katharins*) to *Ireland* with a Credential, as his Ambaffador to the Clergy, and the Catholick Nobility, and Gentry in that Kingdom, to treat with them in order to the receiving Aid and Support from the Duke; and to the End, that his Highness might in Truth understand in what Capacity they were to be relieved, and how they could themselves contribute thereunto; it not being then known, that the Marquess of *Ormond* had left the King's Authority behind him; but rather conceived, that upon those many Provocations and Affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn with his Person, the Countenance and Authority they had so much under-valued, and so little deserved.

When the Abbot landed in *Ireland*, (which was about the End of *February*, and within little more than two Months after the Lord Lieutenant was departed thence,) he heard that the Marquess of *Clanrickard* was the King's Deputy, and therefore he gave

gave him present Notice of his Arrival, ad-^{Ambassa-}
 dressed himself to him, shewed his Commission^{dor from}
 and Credentials; and assured him, that the^{Lorrain}
 Duke his Master had so great an Affection^{applied to}
 to the King of England (the Preservation of^{the Lord}
 whose Interest in that Kingdom was the chief^{Deputy.}
 Motive to him, to offer his Assistance) that
 if he had known any Person, had been intrust-
 ed there with his Majesty's Authority, he
 would have addressed himself to him, and to
 no other. And he finding his Lordship invest-
 ed with that Power, did, what he knew his
 Master expected at his Hand, apply himself
 unto him, with, and by whose Direction he
 would alone steer himself through that Nego-
 tiation. He told him, the Duke had al-
 ready disbursed 6000 Pistoles, for the Supply-
 ing them with those Things, he heard they
 stood most in Need of, which were brought
 over by a religious Person, who came with
 him, and that he was ready to be informed,
 of what they would desire from his Highness,
 that might enable them to resist the Enemy,
 and that he would consent to any Thing,
 that was reasonable for him to undertake.

Hereupon the Lord Deputy appointed^{Lord De-}
 a Committee of the Commissioners of^{puty ap-}
 Trust, together with some Prelates, to con-^{points Com-}
 fer with the Ambassador, to receive Over-^{missioners}
 tures from him, and to present them unto^{to confer}
 him with their Advice thereupon: They^{with him.}
 met accordingly, and received the Propositi-
 ons

ons from the Ambassador, such as were so unagreeable to the Profession he had made of Respect to the King, and indeed so inconsistent with the King's Honour and Interest; that they proceeded rather from the Encouragement and Contrivance of the *Irish*, than from his own Temper and Disposition, and this was the more believed, when instead of returning the Propositions to the *Lord Deputy*, they kept the same in their own Hands, put out some of those, who were appointed by him to be of the Committee, and chose others in their Places, and proceeded in the Treaty, without giving the *Deputy* an Account of what was demanded by the Ambassador, or what they thought fit to offer to him; of all which the *Deputy* took notice, and thereupon forbid them to proceed any further in that Way, and restrained them unto certain Articles, which he sent them, which contained what he thought fit to offer to the Ambassador, and gave them Power only to treat; but notwithstanding his positive Directions, they proceeded in their Treaty with the Ambassador, and sent Advice to the *Deputy* to consent unto the Articles proposed by him; since (they said) he would not recede from what he had proposed, and that it was much better to submit to the same, than that the Treaty should be broken off.

*Their un-
fair Nego-
tiation.*

The

The Deputy as positively declared, That what was demanded was so derogatory to the Honour of the King his Master, and destructive to his Interest, that he would never agree to it, and resolved presently to leave the Town: And when the Ambassador sent to him to desire to see him, and to take his Leave of him, he absolutely refused, and sent him Word, *That Message he would never pay his Civility to, or receive from the Lord Deputy to the Ambassador: it from a Person, who had so much swerved from the Propositions made by himself, and who had presumed to make Propositions so dishonourable to the King his Master, and (he believed) so contrary to the good Pleasure of the Duke of Lorrain, and that he would send away an Express to the Duke, to inform him of his Miscarriage, and he presumed, he would do Justice unto the King upon him.*

When the Prelates saw that no Obstinacy in the Ambassador, nor Importunity recedes from his Demands. from the Lord Deputy, they, to shew what Influence they had upon that Treaty, persuaded the Ambassador to the same Propositions, which he had formerly (no Doubt by the same Advice) rejected, and thereupon to make the Sum formerly disbursed by the Duke at his coming out of Flanders full 20000*l.* rain, viz. Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffery Brown, such Esq;

such Commissions and Instructions as he gave them, who arrived in those Parts about the Month of *July* following. The Bishop of *Fernes* about the same Time left *Ireland*, and came likewise to *Brussels*, and having (without) the Privy of the *Lord Deputy*) received some secret Trust and Delegation from the Prelates of *Ireland*, and Credit from them to the *Duke of Lorrain*, he quickly interested himself in that Treaty, and took upon him the greatest Part in it: And that which he said was the Sense of the Nation, he reproached the Persons imployed and trusted by the Deputy, with all the Proceedings which had been in *Ireland* by the Consent of the confederate Catholicks: Inveighed against their opposing the Pope's *Nuncio*, and appealing against the Excommunication issued out by him; he told them (and all this by a Letter under his Hand) *That he was clearly of Opinion, that the Excommunication was of Force, and that the greatest States-men, Soldiers, Citizens, and People disobeying, and now obstinate, are, and were delivered to Satan, and therefore forsaken of God, and unworthy of Victory, and his holy Blessing; and thereupon he said, he did with all Sincerity offer his own humble Opinion, what was to be done by them, which was to the End the Agreement, they were making with his Highness the Duke of Lorrain, might be-*
come

*Carriage
of the Bi-
shop of
Fernes.*

come profitable to the Nation, and acceptable in the Eyes of God. That they would immediately with humble Hearts, make a Submission to his Holiness in the Name of the Nation, and beg the Apostolical Benediction. That the Light of Wisdom, the Spirit of Fortitude, Virtue, Grace, Success, and the Blessing of God, might return again to them. He told them the Necessity of doing this was the greater, for that the Person from whom they came with Authority (the Marquess of Clanrickard the Lord Deputy) was for several Causes excommunicated a Jure & Homine, and that he was at Rome reputed the Contemner of the Authority and Dignity of Church-men, and a Persecutor of the Lord Nuncio, and some Bishops, and other Church-men; and after many rude and bitter Reproaches against the Deputy, he said these Words, Do you think God will prosper a Contract grounded upon the Authority of such a Man and shortly after he said, that if the Duke of Lorrain were rightly informed of the Business, he would never enter upon a Bargain to preserve, or rather restore holy Religion in the Kingdom, with Agents bringing their Authority from a cursed withered Hand; and then concluded with these Words, As for my Part upon the Denial to bear my humble Prayers, which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw myself as a Man, despairing of any Fruit to come from an unsound Trunk,

where there is no Sap of Grace, and am resolved to communicate no more with you in that Affair, but rather to let the Prince know he is building his Resolution of doing good upon an unhallowed Foundation. And that God therefore (unless himself would undertake to get an Absolution for the Nation) will not give him the Grace to lay down the lapid angularis of his own House again in that Kingdom. This Letter bore Date at *Brussels* on the 20th of *July*, 1651. The Persons to whom it was directed being then in the same Town; what the Issue of the Treaty was, and what Regard was had to the King's Honour, and Interest, I shall not mention in this Place, the Articles being made publick to the World; but shall only insert the Letter, which the Lord Deputy wrote to the Duke of *Lorrain*, in Answer to one he had receiv'd from his Highness, and after he knew what Transaction had been made with him; the Letter was dated the 20th of *October*, 1651. in these Words,

Letter
from the
Lord De-
puty to the
Duke of
Lorrain.

May it please your Highness,

I Had the Honour, the 12th of this Instant, to receive a Letter from your Highness, dated the 10th of *September*, wherein you are pleased to express your great Zeal for the Advancement of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom,
your

‘ your great Affection to the King my
‘ Master, and your good Opinion of this
‘ Nation, and Compassion of their Suffer-
‘ ings, and your great Readiness to afford
‘ them Aid and Assistance, even equal
‘ with your own Interest and Concern-
‘ ment; and that your Highness received
‘ such Satisfaction from the Queen and
‘ Duke of *York*, as did much strengthen
‘ those Resolutions, so as they might soon-
‘ er have appeared, but for the Stay made
‘ here by Monsieur St. *Katherine*, and his
‘ large northern Voyage upon his Return;
‘ and referred what concerned the Agree-
‘ ment to the Relation of those Commis-
‘ sioners I had imployed to your High-
‘ ness to treat upon that Subject of Assis-
‘ tance, and Relief, for this Kingdom, I
‘ do with much Alacrity congratulate your
‘ Highness’s pious Intentions for the Pre-
‘ servation of the Catholick Religion, your
‘ great and princely Care to recover his
‘ Majesty’s Rights and Interests from the
‘ rebel Subjects of *England*, and the high
‘ Obligation you put upon this Nation by
‘ your tender Regard of them, and de-
‘ sire to redeem them from the great
‘ Miseries and Afflictions they have en-
‘ dured, and the imminent Danger they
‘ are in; and it shall be a principal Part of
‘ my Ambition, to be an useful Instru-
‘ ment to serve your Highness, in so fa-

T

mous

‘ mous and glorious an Enterprize; and
 ‘ that I may be the more capable to con-
 ‘ tribute somewhat to so religious and just
 ‘ Ends.

‘ *First*, In Discharge of my Conscience
 ‘ towards God, my Duty to the King my
 ‘ Master, to disabuse your Highness, and
 ‘ give you a perfect and clear Information,
 ‘ so far as comes to my Knowledge, I am
 ‘ obliged to represent to your Highness:
 ‘ That by the Title of that Agreement,
 ‘ and Articles therein contained, made by
 ‘ those Commissioners imployed to your
 ‘ Highness, and but lately come unto my
 ‘ Hands; they have violated the Trust re-
 ‘ posed in them, by having cast off and
 ‘ declined the Commission and Instructi-
 ‘ on they had from me in the King my
 ‘ Master’s Behalf, and all other Powers
 ‘ that could by any other Means be de-
 ‘ rived from him, and pretend to make
 ‘ an Agreement with your Highness in the
 ‘ Name of the Kingdom and People of
 ‘ *Ireland*, for which they had not, nor
 ‘ could have any warrantable Authority,
 ‘ and have abused your Highness by a
 ‘ counterfeit Shew of a private Instrument,
 ‘ fraudulently procured and signed (as I
 ‘ am informed) by some inconsiderable
 ‘ and factious Persons, ill affected to his
 ‘ Majesty’s Authority, without any Con-
 ‘ sent or Knowledge of the Generality of
 ‘ the

‘ the Nation, or Persons of greatest Qua-
 ‘ lity and Interest therein, and who under
 ‘ seeming Zeal, and Pretence of Service
 ‘ and Affection to your Highness, labour
 ‘ more to satisfy their private Ambitions,
 ‘ than the Advantage of Religion or the
 ‘ Nation, or the prosperous Success of your
 ‘ Highness’s generous Undertaking.

‘ And to manifest the Clearness of my
 ‘ own Proceedings, and to make such de-
 ‘ ceitful Practices more apparent, I send
 ‘ your Highness herewith an authentick
 ‘ Copy of my Instructions, which accom-
 ‘ panied their Commission when I em-
 ‘ ployed them to your Highness, as a suf-
 ‘ ficient Evidence to convince them; and
 ‘ having thus manifested their Breach of
 ‘ publick Trust, I am obliged in the King
 ‘ my Master’s Name, to protest against
 ‘ their unwarrantable Proceedings, and to
 ‘ declare all other Agreements and Acts
 ‘ whatsoever, concluded by those Commis-
 ‘ sioners, to be void and illegal, not be-
 ‘ ing derived from, or consonant to his
 ‘ Majesty’s Authority; being in Duty o-
 ‘ bliged thus far to vindicate the King my
 ‘ Master’s Honour and Authority, and to
 ‘ preserve his just and undoubted Rights
 ‘ from such deceitful and rebellious Practi-
 ‘ ces; as likewise with an humble and re-
 ‘ spective Care to prevent those Prejudi-
 ‘ ces that might befall your Highness, in
 T 2 ‘ being

' being deluded by counterfeit Shews of
 ' doing you greater Honour, than it is
 ' apparent can arise from any Undertak-
 ' ing, laid upon such false and ill-ground-
 ' ed Principles, as have been smoothly
 ' digested and fixed upon the Nation, as
 ' their Desire and Request, and must o-
 ' verthrow all those heroick and princely
 ' Acts. Your Highness hath proposed to
 ' yourself for God's Glory and Service,
 ' the Restauration of oppressed Majesty,
 ' and the Relief of this distressed King-
 ' dom, which would at least fall into in-
 ' testine Broils and Divisions, if not for-
 ' cibly driven into Desperation. I shall
 ' now with a hopeful, chearful Importu-
 ' nity, upon a clear Score (free from those
 ' Deceits) not only propose unto your
 ' Highness; that for the Advancement of
 ' all those great Ends you aimed at (in
 ' the King my Master's Name, in the
 ' Name of all the loyal Catholick Sub-
 ' jects of this Nation, and for the Prefer-
 ' vation of those important cautionary Pla-
 ' ces, that are Security for your Highness's
 ' past, and present Disbursements) you will
 ' be pleased to quicken and hasten those
 ' Aids and Assistance, you intended for
 ' the Relief of *Ireland*. And I have with
 ' my whole Power, and through greatest
 ' Hazards strove to defend them for
 ' you, and to preserve all other Parts,

3

' that

‘ that may at all Times be of Advantage,
‘ and a Safeguard to your Fleets and Men
‘ of War, having yet many good Har-
‘ bours left. But do also engage, in the
‘ King my Master’s Name, whatsoever
‘ may prove to your Satisfaction, that is
‘ any Way consistent with his Honour and
‘ Authority, and have made my humble
‘ Application to the Queen’s Majesty, and
‘ my Lord Lieutenant (the King being
‘ at that Time in *Scotland*) further to a-
‘ gree, confirm, and secure, whatsoever
‘ may be of Advantage to your Highness,
‘ and if the last Galliot had brought us
‘ 10000*l.* for this instant Time, it would
‘ have contributed more to the Recovery
‘ of this Kingdom, than far greater Sums
‘ delayed, by enabling our Forces to meet
‘ together for the Relief of *Lymerick*,
‘ which cannot but be in great Distress,
‘ after so long a Siege, which if lost (tho’
‘ I shall endeavour to prevent it) will
‘ cost much Treasure to regain it; and if
‘ your Highness shall be pleased to go on
‘ chearfully, freely, and seasonably with
‘ this great Work, I make no Question,
‘ but God will give so great a Blessing, as
‘ you, myself, and all the loyal Subjects
‘ of this Kingdom, may soon and justly
‘ proclaim, and leave recorded to Poste-
‘ rity, *That your Highness was the great*
‘ *and glorious Restorer of our Religion, Mo-*
‘ *narchy, and Nation.* ‘ And

‘ And that your Highness may not be
 ‘ discouraged, or diverted from this gene-
 ‘ rous Enterprize, by the Malice or Invec-
 ‘ tives of any ill affected, it is necessa-
 ‘ ry Duty in me to represent to your
 ‘ Highness, that the Bishop of *Fernes* (who
 ‘ as I am informed) hath gained some In-
 ‘ terest in your Favour, is a Person that
 ‘ ever hath been voilent against, and
 ‘ malicious to his Majesty’s Authority
 ‘ and Government, and a fatal Instrument
 ‘ in contriving and fomenting all those
 ‘ Divisions and Differences, that have rent
 ‘ in sunder this Kingdom; the Introduc-
 ‘ tion to our present Miseries, and weak
 ‘ Condition, and that your Highness may
 ‘ thereby know his Disposition, I send here-
 ‘ with a Copy of Part of a Letter writ-
 ‘ ten by him, directed to the Lord *Taaffe*,
 ‘ Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, and Mr. *Jeffery*
 ‘ *Brown* (which was Part of that Letter
 ‘ mentioned before) and humbly submit it
 ‘ to your Judgment; whether these Ex-
 ‘ pressions be agreeable to the apostolical
 ‘ Spirit, and (considering whose Person
 ‘ and Authority I represent) what ought
 ‘ to be the Reward of such a Crime: I
 ‘ must therefore desire your Highness, in
 ‘ the King my Master’s Behalf, that he may
 ‘ not be countenanced, or intrusted in
 ‘ any Affairs, that have Relation to his Ma-
 ‘ jefty’s

‘ jesty’s Interest in this Kingdom, where I
 ‘ have constantly endeavoured, by all possi-
 ‘ ble Service, to deserve your Highness’s
 ‘ good Opinion, and obtain that Favour
 ‘ to be a most faithful Acknowledger of
 ‘ it in the Capacity, and under the Title
 ‘ of,

Your Highness’s

Atherne, Oct.

10, 1651.

Most Humble and

Obedient Servant,

CLANRICKARD.

It cannot be doubted, but what this eminent Catholick Lord (who for Loyalty and Religion hath been, and is dispoiled of as great a Fortune as Subjects enjoy in any Kingdom) hath said concerning that Treaty, will find more Credit with the World, than any Thing the Bishop of *Fernes*, or any obscure loose Fryar can publish in the Bitterness of their Spirit, who too much declare that Irreverence they bear towards his Majesty, by their Rudeness to those who are intrusted to govern them, and the Contempt they have of all the Laws, which are to restrain and contain them within the Rules of Obedience. One of the principal Motives which induced the Marquess to

submit to that great Charge, and to undertake a Province, which he knew would be very burthensome and grievous in several Respects; was the joint Promise that the City of *Lymerick*, and Town of *Galloway* would pay all imaginable Duty to him; the Clergy obliged themselves in that Particular with all Confidence, and the Deputies of the Place promised all that could be desired, but when the Lord Deputy found it necessary to settle that Business, they would neither receive a Governor or Garrison from him, and when he offered himself to stay in *Lymerick* (when *Iretón* was drawing before it) and to run the same Fortune with them, they refused it as peremptorily as they had done to the Lord Lieutenant. It is true, both *Lymerick* and *Galloway* were content to receive Soldiers, but they must be such only as were of their own choosing, not such either in Number or Quality, as the Deputy would have sent to them, or as were necessary for their Security; they chose likewise their own Governor, or rather kept the Government themselves, and gave the Title to one whom they thought least likely to contradict them; and in a Word, behaved themselves like two Commonwealths, and obey'd the Deputy no farther than they were inclined to by their own Convenience; they who compounded with the Enemy in the Country, corresponded with them

*Disobedience of
Lymerick
and Galloway to the
Lord Deputy.*

*Irish correspond
with the
English
Rebels.*

them in the Town, and thereby gave the Enemy Intelligence of all that past. Wonderful Diligence was used to make it thought, that the *Independents* were not uncharitable unto Catholics, and that they wished not any Compulsion should be used in Matters of Religion; and when the Acts of Cruelty and Blood, of putting their Priests and Prelates to an ignominious Death (of which there were new Instances every Day) were mentioned, it was answered, those Proceedings were carried on by the *Presbyterians*, very much against the Nature and Principles of the other Party.

This License of Communication, and the evil Consequences that must attend it, were enough understood by the Lord Deputy; but could be no more prevented, informed or punished, than he could infuse a new Heart or Spirit into the People: One Instance will serve the Turn; there was one Fryar *Anthony Gaubaghan* in the Town, who had always adhered to the Nuncio, and opposed the King's Authority to the utmost of his Power. Several Letters written by him into the Rebels Quarters, were intercepted and brought to the Deputy, in which though there were many Things in Cypher, there appeared much of the present State and Condition of the Town, and in one of them, dated the 14th of

The Lord Deputy unable to prevent this Correspondence.

Instanced in Fryar Anthony.

of February, 1651. was this Passage, *If the Service of God had been as deep in the Hearts of our Nation, as that Idol of Dagon, a foolish Loyalty, a better Course for its Honour and Preservation had been taken in Time.* The Deputy believed the Crime to be so apparent, and of such a Nature, that what Accomplices soever he might have, none would have the Courage to appear in his behalf, and that he might give the Clergy an Opportunity to shew their Zeal in a Business that so much concerned their common Safety, he referred the Examination of the Fryar to the Bishops, (whereof there were three or four in Town) and to some other of the Principal of the Clergy, and appointed them to require him to produce the Cypher, which he had used, and to examine him to whom the Letters were intended, they being directed to counterfeit and supposititious Names. The Cypher was produced accordingly, and thereby many Expressions in the Letter appeared full of Neglect and Reproach of the King and others, of Insolency, and continually towards the Lord Deputy, *they mentioned little Hopes was left of Relief from the Duke of Lorrain, and that they resolved to send one to treat with the Rebels, and had found a private Means of conveying one to that Purpose.* The Fryar promised *to use all his Diligence to dispose the Catholicks, to*
have

have a good Opinion of the Independents, and made some Requests concerning himself. All that he alledged for his Defence was, that the Letters written by him, were to one who was imployed by the Court of *Rome*, that he had no ill meaning against the King or Deputy, and that himself had a Trust from *Rome*, and Instructions from the Secretary of the Congregation, *de propaganda fide*, and the Bishops certified, that they had seen the Instructions, and that they did not relate at all to the temporal State, and this was all the Satisfaction, and all the Justice the Deputy could procure, though he wrote several Letters of Expostulation to the Bishops thereupon; and whether this be any Part of the Privileges, and Immunities of the Catholick *Roman* Church, and enjoyed in any Catholick Country, and whether it can be indulged to them in any other Country, where the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is not submitted unto, we must leave to the World to judge and determine. And if *Protestant* Kings and Princes are severe, and provident for the Prevention of such Practices, and for the Establishing of their own Security, it must not be imputed to an unreasonable Jealousy, or a Prejudice to the *Roman* Catholick Religion, but to the unreasonable Presumption of those Men, who have pretended Religion for their Warrant,

or

*A good
Caution.*

or Excuse for the most unlawful, and most unjustifiable Actions.

The Consequences of the Disobedience and Disloyalty of the Irish Clergy.

This was the Obedience and Submission they paid to the King's Authority and Government; let us now see what Government they provided for themselves, and what Course they who were still jealous of being betrayed by those who were intrusted by the King took for their own Security and Preservation, and what Power the Bishops and Clergy had to support their own Interest and Dignity after they appeared to have enough to destroy or suppress that of the King.

The City of *Lymerick* was entirely governed by the Clergy; how it rejected the first Peace in the Year 1646, affronted the Herald, the King at Arms when he came to proclaim it, wounded and turned out the Mayor, and chose *Dominick Faning* the Captain of that Tumult and Outrage, Mayor in his Place, and how it submitted to the good Will and Pleasure of the Nuncio thereupon is before remembred. How it behaved itself to the Marquess of *Ormond* as to the second Peace, and after it had promised to receive a Garrison, how Father *Wolfe* a Fryar, raised a Mutiny, upon which, they refused to receive or to admit the Lord Lieutenant into the Town, when upon their own Invitation he was come even into their own Gates, is likewise before set down.

down. Contrary to their own Obligation and solemn Promise, they continued the same Obstinacy to the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, refused to receive such a Governor and Garrison as he thought fit to give them, or to receive himself into the Town with the Power and Authority of Deputy, after he had assumed that Title upon their own Importunity and Promise of Obedience. However, he sent such Men both Officers and Soldiers as they desired, and no other; let us see the Success.

As soon as *Ireton* came before it, and before they were press'd with any Want, they began to discourse of treating with the Rebels. All the Considerations of what they might undergo hereafter occurred to them, and the Improbability of their receiving any Succour proportionable to their Wants, yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known that *Ireton* would except very many principal Persons among them to whom no Mercy should be shew'd, nor would they expect any Conditions for the Exercise of their Religion they had been so jealous of. The Governor had only Power to set the Watch, but the Mayor kept the Keys, and had many of the principal Officers at his Devotion. Upon the 23d Day of *October*, a mix'd Council of Officers, and of those of the Civil Government, met in the Town-House to consult what

*Lymrick
besieged.*

what was to be done in Order to a Treaty with the Enemy; and after a long Debate, *AParty in it, resolve to surrender.* it was concluded by the major Part, *that they would proceed to a Treaty, and that they would not break it off upon Exception of any Person for Quarter or Confiscation of their Goods;* and the next Day was appointed for choosing the Commissioners to be sent unto the Rebels. When the Result of Yesterday's Debate being known in the Town, they no sooner met for the Election of the Commissioners, than the Bishops of *Lymerick and Emly* with the Clergy came to the Town-house, and *threatned to issue out an Excommunication against them, if they proceeded in those Counsels.* The Effect whereof would be to deliver up the Prelates to be *Whereupon the Bishops publish an Excommunication, but in vain.* slaughtered. Notwithstanding which, they proceeded to the naming of the Persons, who should treat for them. Whereupon the Bishops published their Excommunication with a perpetual Interdict of the City, which was fixed on the Doors of all the Churches and Chapels in the Town; but, alas! those Fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used, to retain any Virtue in Time of Need, as Catholick as the Town was (and there was not one *Protestant* in it) the Excommunication took no Effect. But that very Night, Colonel *Fennell*, and the Officers of the Combination who press'd on the Treaty, possess them-

themselves of St. John's Gate and Tower, ^{Colonel Fennell}
 and drove the Guards from thence, when ^{seizes St. John's}
 Major General O Neal (who had the Title of Governor of the Town) came thither, and demanded ^{Gate and Tower.} *by what Authority they were there*, he having given them Orders to guard another Quarter of the Town; they answered, *the best of the Town knew and approved of what they did.* It was very true, the Mayor was of the Party, and delivered the Keys of the Port, to Colonel Fennell, though he denied it to the other Party that opposed the Treaty, the Governor called a Council of War, and sent for Fennell before them, who refused to come, and being supplied with Powder from the Mayor, he turned the Cannon upon the Town, and declared, that he would not quit the Place that he was possess'd of, till the City should be yielded to the Enemy; the Commissioners were sent out to Ireton, who would give no other Conditions, than that *the Garrison should lay down their Arms, the Officers retaining their Swords, and to march to what Place they would, except only those exempted from Mercy (who of the Soldiers and Citizens, amounted to the Number of twenty four.)* The Inhabitants ^{Their} had three Months Time assigned ^{scameful} them to transport their Persons, and three ^{Capitulation.} Months more to remove their Goods, within any Place of the Kingdom appointed, in which

which they might live. It cannot be believed those unequal and severe Conditions would have been accepted from any Army, not strong enough to have imposed upon a People unwilling to have submitted to them, and in a Season of the Year, that alone would have secured a Place provided for Resistance (for it was now the End of *October*, or Beginning of *November*) but that Colonel *Fennell* the same Night those hard Demands were sent into the Town, received into *St. John's Gate* and Tower, two hundred Men from *Ireton*, and the other were removed into another Fort, call'd *Price's Mill*, where after they had continued about two Days, and the People of the Town not yet agreeing what they would do, a Drum was sent through the City, commanding all manner of Soldiers in Pay in the Town to repair to our *Lady's Church*, and there to lay down their Arms, which was immediately obey'd; and the Soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the Town, *Ireton* march'd in, and was without any Contradiction) quietly posselt of all he desired, causing as many of the excepted Persons as could be found to be committed to Prison.

In this Manner was the City of *Lymrick* defended by the *Catholick Irish*, and this Obedience did the Prelates, and the
Clergy

Clergy in their Need, receive from those over whom they had Power enough to seduce from the Duty they owed the King, and from submitting to his Authority, and now was the Harvest when they gathered the Fruit of all their Labours. The Instances of Severity and Blood, which the Rebels gave upon their being possess'd of this Place were very remarkable: The Bishop of *Lymerick*, by Dexterity and good Fortune, either by marching out among the common Soldiers, or concealing himself with some faithful Friend in the Town, (which is not so probable) escaped their Hands, who manifested enough what his Condition would have been by the Treatment, which they gave to the Bishop of *Emely* whom they took, and without any Formality of Justice, and with all Reproaches imaginable caused him to be publicly hang'd. This unhappy Prelate had, from the Beginning, opposed with the greatest Passion the King's Authority, and most obstinately adhered to the Nuncio, and to that Party still, which was most averse from returning to their Allegiance, and was miserably and ignominiously put to Death by those who were equal Enemies to the King, and in that City wherein he had been a principal Instrument to shut out the King's Authority. It may be remember'd in the former Part of this Discourse, that when

The Rebels exercise their usual Cruelty.

Bishop of Emely hang'd.

the King at Arms proclaim'd the first Peace in *Lymerick*, in the Year 1646. one *Dominick Fanning* a Citizen of this Town rais'd a Mutiny, and led on that Rabble, which committed that Violence on the Herald himself, and wounded the Mayor, and was made Mayor in his Place by the Nuncio, and so kept the Town in Rebellion. The same Man continued the same Spirit against his Majesty's Authority, and always oppos'd the receiving of a Garrison, when after the last Peace, the Lord Lieutenant so often and so earnestly press'd the same, as the only Means to preserve the City. This *Dominick Fanning* being one of those 24 which *Ireton* had excepted, found a Way, among the common Soldiers, to get out of the Town; notwithstanding all the Diligence that they used to discover him; when he was free and in Safety, he returned to the Town to fetch some Money that he had privately hid, and to make some Provision for his Subsistence, which he had not Time to do before. But going to his own Wife she refused to receive him, or to assist him with any Thing, whereupon he departed, and after he had walked up and down the Streets some Time, the Weather being extreemly cold, he went to the main Guard, where was a good Fire, and being discovered to be a Stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily

*The Fate of
Dominick
Fanning.
the Rioter.*

rily confess'd, that he was *Dominick Fanning*, for whom such strict Search had been made; he was apprehended, and the next Morning carried before the Governor, and immediately hanged.

There were two other Examples no less memorable, in which two other notorious Persons were concerned, who had borne unhappy Parts in that City, when the Marquess of *Ormond* had so often, and in vain pressed *Lymerick* to receive a Garrison, and the Commissioners of Trust had used all their Persuasions and Authority to the same Purpose. The Rebels Army being so near, that it was believed, they intended to sit down before it, the Council sent two of the Aldermen to invite the Lord Lieutenant thither, being within less than a Day's Journey of the City. How he was used when he came almost to the Gates, it is before remembered, and how the same Aldermen were sent out to inform him, that there was a Mutiny raised to hinder his being received, and till that was appeased, or composed, he was advised to forbear approaching nearer. That Mutiny was raised by one *Wolfe* a Fryar, who persuaded the simple People, that the receiving the Lord Lieutenant would be a great Prejudice to ther Religion, which, with the Countenance of Alderman *Thomas Stretch*, who was then Mayor of the

U 2

City,

City, easily raised a Tumult, that caused the Gates to be shut, when he was ready to enter. The Alderman, and that Fryderman ar were both taken, upon the Surrender of *Lymerick*, and without any Formality of Justice, hang'd by those, who (but by them) would never, in Probability, have been Masters of the Town. Lastly, This very Colonel *Fennell*, who by possessing himself of the Port, and turning the Cannon upon the Town, betrayed the Place to the Rebels, tho' he had for the present the Benefit of the Articles, was within few Months after taken by them; and without any Consideration of his late Merit hanged, as the rest had been: In a Word, all those who had been the first Causers and Raisers of the Rebellion, or who with most Malice and Obstinacy opposed their Return to the King's Obedience, and had the Misfortune to fall into the Rebels Hands, as the Bishop of *Raffoe*, who was taken and hanged by the Lord *Broghill*, *Jeffery Baron* who kept *Waterford* from receiving the Lord Lieutenant, taken afterwards at *Lymerick*, and hanged there, and many others were made the Examples of unusual Rigour by the Rebels, and are such Monuments of Calamity as are not frequently met with in Story, and ought to be revolved by the Survivors upon a just and pious Recollection of God's wonderful Proceedings against them.

The

And of Al-
derman
Stretch
and Fryar
Wolf.

And even
Col. Fen-
nell, by
whose Treason
every the
Rebels were
possess'd of
the City.

Others
murder'd
by the Re-
bels; In-
stances of
God's Jus-
tice, but
their Cru-
elty.

The Business of *Lymerick* being thus over, *Ireton* within a few Days after, and without drawing his Army nearer than the Castle of *Clare*, sent a most insolent Summons to the Town of *Gallway*, wishing them to put him to no more Trouble, lest they fared as *Lymerick* did; adding such other Threats as he thought most like to make Impression upon them: And a great Impression they did make, but by the Death of *Ireton* they had a little Respite, the Rebels not being so intirely united under Command as before, and then the Town of *Gallway* addressed themselves to the Lord Deputy, and desired his Assistance, *promising all Obedience to his Majesty's Authority in him*; nor was he so much discouraged by their former Carriage, and their having accepted the Articles made with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and their declaring him to be their Protector, without ever communicating it to the Lord Deputy, as to decline having further to do with them. But upon the first Address to him, he sent his Secretary to them with some Directions, and shortly after went himself thither, having summoned such of the Nobility, Prelates, and principal Gentry, as could with Safety repair thither, to consult what might yet be done for their Defence: They having Men enough still dispersed in several Parties to resist the Enemy, if they were

drawn together and united among themselves: And the Town of *Gallway* was so good a Port, that any Supplies or Succours might come from abroad to them.

All Disputes upon Commands being quickly compos'd among the Rebels, a small Party was sent under the Command of Sir *Charles Coote* to streighten *Gallway*, which wrought so far upon the Assembly there, that they importuned the Deputy to give them Leave to send to the Commander in Chief of the Rebels, for a safe Conduct for their Commissioners *to treat for some Conditions for the Nation, upon which they might submit to the Government of the Parliament*, professing, that they would in the mean Time *make such Preparation for their Defence, that if the Parliament would not give them good and ample Conditions, they would sell themselves at such a dear Rate, as should make their Conquest of very little Use to the Enemy*. But when they found, they could not have so much as a safe Conduct sent for their Commissioners, nor could be admitted so much as to treat for the Nation, but only that particular Places, and Persons might be admitted to compound for themselves, on such Terms as others had done; their Spirits failed them, and after a very little Deliberation, and before they put the Rebels to the Trouble of besieging them, without so much

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as consulting the Lord Deputy, or asking his Leave (although he was in less than half a Day's Journey of the Town,) they entered into a Treaty, and in a short Time after, surrender'd the Town into the Hands ^{*The Town*} of the Rebels, who were amazed to see, ^{*surrender'd.*} upon what easy Terms, they parted with their last Town having still in loose Parties over the Kingdom, more Men in Arms to have defended, than the *English* could have brought against it.

The Marquess of *Clanrickard* did not leave the Kingdom in many Months after the Surrender of this Town, but endeavoured by all Means possible to draw the scattered Forces together, that he might once fight the Rebels. But at last, after he had endeavoured in vain, and had received his Majesty's Commands, *to take Care of his own Security, and that he fell not into the Rebels Hands*; after he saw those, upon whose publick Fidelity, and private Affections, he depended as much as upon any, fall every Day from him, and submit to the Rebels, upon such Conditions as did hardly assure them of Life at the best; having only Liberty to transport themselves to the Service of such foreign Princes, as the Rebels believed to be their Friends; and after he was reduced to those Streights, that he durst not reside 24 Hours in one Place, for fear of being betrayed, and de-

Marquess
of Clan-
rickard at
last forced
to leave the
Kingdom.

livered up into the Hands of the Rebels, and having no Port to be his Friend, where a Vessel might attend to transport him, he was in the End compelled to ask a Pass from the Rebels, which they willingly and readily sent to him, and which he accepted without making any other Conditions for himself, than that he might for some Time remain secure in their Quarters, without taking the Oath usually imposed by them, and afterwards had Liberty to transport himself into Parts beyond the Sea. Whereas, had he demanded a good Proportion to be allowed out of his own great Estate, and promised to have given them no further Trouble, it is probable, they would have consented to it: But the Integrity and Greatness of his Heart would not suffer him to enjoy any Thing by the Favour and Permission of those, whose Destruction he desired, and meant always to prosecute; and so he transported himself in a Vessel belonging to the Rebels out of *Ireland*, about *March* or *April* 1652, after he had borne the Title of the King's Deputy of that Kingdom little more than two Years, with very little more Obedience from the Catholick *Irish*, than had before been paid to the Lord Lieutenant.

This was the Fate of that unhappy Nation, both under *Protestant* and *Roman* Catholick Governors, and as the Catholick Gover-

Governors, and all other Catholicks over whom he had Power ; and indeed very many of the principal Catholicks of that Kingdom once paid all Obedience due to the Lord Lieutenant, while he remained amongst them ; so the same Persons who most opposed him, and crost and hindered Submission to his Orders, and would have Religion believed the Cause of the Disobedience he found in the People, proved as inconvenient and refractory to the Catholick Governor ; the same Corporations continued the same Disobedience to the latter, as well as to the former. The same Clergy and Prelates supported and encouraged them in it, and as if the publick Calamity and Judgments, and the particular Fate which hath befallen many of their Friends, had made no Impression upon their Spirits ; they have transported their Uncharitableness and Animosity, to keep them Company in their Banishment ; and the same Persons continue their Virulency and Bitterness one against another, justify all their Proceedings, which have been the Ground-work of theirs, and their Country's Destruction ; and of almost the Extirpation of the Catholick Religion out of that Kingdom, and yet are so extreamly blinded with their Passion, that they hope to be thought to suffer upon the Impulsion of Conscience, and for the *Roman* Catholick Religion ; and which

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is more strange, for their Allegiance and Loyalty to the King; they would be believed to be the most obedient Subjects to the King, and the most zealous Assertors of the Royal Power; and at the same Time, justify and magnify the Proceedings of the Nuncio, reproach those Catholicks that adhered to the Lord Lieutenant, and to the Peace made by the Nation as excommunicated Persons; and all the other Acts done afterwards by the Clergy, without the least Shadow of Law or Gospel to support them.

The Conclusion.

Having drawn this Discourse into greater Length, than in the Beginning, I thought I should have had occasion to have done; I shall conclude with that earnest Desire with which I began, that the small seduced Number of that unhappy Nation, which continue in the same Errors they began, and persevere in building upon such Foundations, as can support no Structure of the Catholick Religion or Loyalty, would seriously revolve what they have done; what that Nation enjoyed before the late Rebellion, and the State into which they are now fallen, how much they have trespass'd against the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Kingdom, in kindling that Fire that hath consumed all their Habitations, and is not yet extinguished, nor can be, but by their real Acknowledgment and Repen-
tance;

tance; let them remember, they are Subjects to a *Protestant* King, and in a Kingdom where the *Protestant* Religion is by the Law established, and the *Roman* Catholick at the best only tolerated; and how incongruous a Thing it is, and destructive to their own Ends, to have it believed, that their Religion doth oblige or prompt them to any Actions repugnant to the Loyalty they owe to their King, or to that Obedience, without which the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preserved; let them be so modest, as not to affect to be thought better Catholicks, than those of their own Country, who differ from them in the Professions they made, and are much superior to them in Quality and Number; at least, let them not be thought to profess another Faith, than what the Catholick Church owns and acknowledges, and hold themselves obliged by their Religion, to do that as *Irish* Catholicks, or to justify it (when they have done it) which *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French* Catholicks (whose Religion is supported by their Law, and the other condemned) would hold sinful to do, though they had the Pope's Authority and Command for every individual Act. Do the Prelates of the *French* Church believe themselves qualified to excommunicate Marshal *Turenne*, because he is not a *Roman* Catholick, and
is

is thought to be an Enemy to that Profession? Or can they absolve his Soldiers from Obedience to him, while the *French* King makes him his General of the Army? And what would the most Christian King do, if his Prelates should presume to exercise that Jurisdiction? If the Catholicks of *Catalonia* return unto their Allegiance, upon Articles of Indemnity from their King, and any Nuncio should inhibit them to submit to those Articles as not ample enough for their Security, would the King of *Spain* be well pleased with that Presumption, or excuse those Subjects, who out of Terrour of such an Excommunication should fall from that Duty they had newly profess'd to him, or who sought Absolution for not submitting to it? Will the Republick of *Venice*, or any Prince of *Italy*, suffer their Subjects to pay such an Obedience to St. *Peter's* Chair, or will they distinguish Proceedings against their Subjects in such a spiritual Rebellion, and those who raise Arms, seize their Forts, or conspire the Death of their Sovereign? If none of these Catholick Nations are liable to those Obligations, nor can enjoy those Privileges, how came the Subjects of *Ireland* to be possessed of them, and the King of *Ireland* to be so much below his other Brethren, Christian Monarchs? If their Religion will not allow the same Obedience to be paid to him, it is an ill Argument

ment to induce him to be gracious to that Religion. Away then with the Antichristian Spirit of defending what hath been done amiss, only because it hath been done; and discrediting the Catholick Religion, as if it would not suffer its Children to be dutiful and loyal Subjects to *Protestant* Kings and Princes; and let what was done in the Beginning and Progress of the Rebellion against the Elements of Christianity, be acknowledged and repented before God, and no more justified to the World, and what was done in Violation of the Laws and Government, be acknowledged and excused to the King by the Distemper and Accidents of the Times, and the unjustifiable Proceedings of those, who were unhappily intrusted with the Administration of Justice and Polity without defending them by such Principles, as must leave the Laws in Danger always to be invaded by the same Licence. Away with that uncharitable and undermining Spirit of Jealousy against the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and the Professors of it, by owning and professing an Incapacity of living charitably and peaceably with those, who are not of the same Faith, and those whose Profession is established, and cherished by the Laws of the Land, the Indulgence whereof others desire and expect; and of raising Enemies to a Nation, by avowing any National Distrusts,

trusts and Dislike of any who have been for so many Ages incorporated with them, under the same Obligation of Religion or Allegiance; and let their be a joint Endeavour and Emulation, to justify and commend their several Professions of distinct Faiths, by producing the unquestionable Effects of true Religion, in the Piety and Sanctity of their Lives towards God, the Duty and Obedience of their Actions towards the King, and Kindness and Peaceableness of their Conversation each to other, and all their Fellow Subjects: *Lastly*, away with that immodest and rude Spirit of reproaching, and reviling those, who by Extraction, Quality and Interest, are their Superiors, and have been or shall be placed by the King, in any Degree of Government, or Command over them; since the Duty due unto Kings and Princes includes Respect and Reverence towards their Deputies and Ministers of Trust; and let such Civility of Address, and Decency of Language be used to them, as may dispose them to a temperate and candid hearing of their Desires and Complaints at least, that a just Prejudice against their Manners, may not bring a fatal Prejudice upon their Profession and Pretences. In a Word, let them believe, that any Virulency, Bitterness, and Distemper of Language, is not the Plaister of *Isaiah* to heal the Wound,
but

but of *Hezekiah* to make it run, though it were healed before; and let them make a sanctified Use of what they have done and suffered; of what they have heard, and what they have seen; that they may not fall under that Curse of our Saviour himself; *That seeing they might see, and not perceive; and hearing they might hear, and not understand; lest at any Time, they should be converted, and their Sins should be forgiven them.*



APPEN-



A P P E N D I X.

A COLLECTION of the several Massacres and Murthers comitted by the Irish, since the 23d of October, 1641.

The County of Antrim.



THE Rebels confessed to this Deponent * that they killed in one Morning 954 in this County: And that besides them, they supposed they had killed 1100 or 1200 more in that County.

**Dr. Maxwell.*

The County of Armagh.

Protestants in Multitudes forced over the Bridge of *Portnedown*, whereby at several Times there were drown'd in the River of *Banne* above 1000.

Great Numbers of Protestants drown'd at *Corbridge* and *Kynard* in the County of *Armagh*.

A P P E N D I X.

Mr. *Fullerton*, Clerk, Mr. *Aubrey*, Mr. *Gladwich*, murthered in the Way towards *Portnedown*.

Many others murther'd ; five murther'd soon after the Beginning of the Rebellion; fifty murther'd at *Blackwater-Church*; twenty drown'd near the Water of *Callon*, and several others murther'd.

Mr. *William Blundell* drawn by the Neck in a Rope up and down *Blackwater* at *Charlemont* to confess Money; and three Weeks after he, with his Wife and seven Children, drown'd. Four and forty at several Times murther'd: A Wife compell'd to hang her own Husband; with several other notorious Murthers.

Mr. *Robinson* the Minister, his Wife, and three Children, and seven more murther'd.

Two and twenty Protestants put into a thatch'd House in the Parish of *Kilmore*, and there burned alive.

The Lord *Caufield* murther'd.

Dr. *Hodges*, with forty three more, murther'd within a quarter of a Mile of *Charlemont*.

The Wife of *Arnold Taylor*, great with Child, had her Belly ripp'd up, then drown'd.

Thomas Mason buried alive.

Seventeen Men, Women, and Children, cast into a Bogg-pit in the Parish of *Dumcree*: Many more murther'd. Fif-

Fifteen hundred murther'd in three Parishes; twenty seven more murther'd; Mr. *Cambell* drown'd.

Three hundred Protestants stripped naked, and put into the Church of *Loghgall*, whereof about 100 murther'd within the Church; amongst whom *John Gregg* was quarter'd alive, his Quarters thrown into the Face of *Richard Gregg* his Father. The said *Richard* was after there murther'd, having received seventeen or eighteen Wounds, after cut into Quarters in this Deponents (his Wife's) Presence. Such as were not murther'd, were turn'd out a begging amongst the *Irish*, naked, and into the cold, most of which were killed by *Irish* Cripples, their Trulls and Children.

One hundred and eighty drown'd (at twice) at the Bridge of *Callon*.

One hundred (some say two hundred) more in a Lough near *Ballimackilmorrogh*.

Mr. *Gabriel Constable*, and his Mother eighty Years old, murther'd.

Five hundred murther'd at *Armagh*, besides forty eight Families murther'd in the Parish of *Killaman*.

Three had their Brains knock'd out with a Hatchet within the Church of *Benburb*; eight Women drown'd in a River under the same Church; *Christopher Glover* murther'd.

Lieutenant *James Maxwell* (by order from Sir *Phelim O Neil*) was dragg'd out of

of his Bed (raving in the Height of a burning Fever) driven two Miles and murther'd ; his Wife, great with Child, stripp'd stark naked and drown'd in the *Blackwater*, the Child half born.

Mr. *Starkey* (about 100 Years old) and his two Daughters stripp'd naked, the Daughters forced to support and lead their Father (he being not able to go of himself) and having gone three Quarters of a Mile, were all three drown'd in a Turf-pit.

Divers *Englishmen* in the Parish of *Levilegish* murther'd.

Mrs. *Howard*, Mrs. *Franlan* (both great with Child) and six of their Children murther'd.

The County of *Caterlagh*.

Richard Lake hang'd at *Leighlin-Bridge*, sixteen more hang'd near that Place, two murther'd near *Caterlagh*, two Women hang'd up by the Hair of their Heads all Night, the next Day being found still alive, they were murther'd.

At or near *Leighlin-Bridge*, three Men with their Wives and Children murther'd, one Woman and her Daughter murther'd, a Woman newly deliver'd of two Children, the one of them had his Brains beaten out against the Stones, and after thrown into the River *Barrow*, the other destroy'd ; about

bout forty *English* murther'd thereabouts. Almost all the *English* about *Gowran* and *Wells* hang'd and murther'd.

The County of *Cavan*.

Many Protestants forced over the Bridge of *Belturbet* in the County of *Cavan*, and there drown'd.

Adam Bayley, and several others murther'd at *Kilkolly* in the County of *Cavan*.

William Rocket drown'd near *Belhorber*.

Several *Scotch* Families destroy'd, two of the *Hovies* and *Abraham Jones* murther'd, with several other Murthers committed at *Butler's-bridge*.

A distracted Gentleman run through with a Pike, he laughing the while.

The County of *Clare*.

Christopher Hebditch, and sixteen more *English* Protestants, murthered at or near the Castle of *Incherony*.

The County of *Cork*.

Thomas Lencomb and his Wife hang'd at their own Door; *John Seller* a Miller cut in pieces hard by *Ross*; *John Carpenter* and his Wife hang'd in Mr. *Morgan's* Wood, and their three Children starv'd in the Place;

Mary Tukesbury hang'd near thereunto: *Mr. Tamuse*, a Chyrurgeon-Barber, kill'd in the Streets of *Ross*, by one *Christopher Cloud*.

The County of *Donnegall*.

William Mackenny and his Mother-in-Law, and his Wife great with Child, murther'd, his said Wife having her Belly ripped up, and the Child cut out of the Womb.

Robert Akins, Clerk, and thirteen more murther'd at *Castledoe*.

Sixty Persons that came in Boats from *Killala*, murther'd by the *Mac Swines* and *O Boyles*.

The County of *Down*.

Eighty forced to go on the Ice on *Logh-earn*, till they brake the Ice, and were drown'd.

Mr. Tudge, (the Minister of *Newry*) Lieutenant *Trevor* and his Wife, and twenty four more (some count fifty) murther'd and cut in pieces at the Pass of *Ballonery*.

Divers murther'd at *Castle-Island* and *Down*.

A *Scotchman*, an *Englishman*, and a *Welchman* imprisoned in the Stocks at *Newcastle*, where they lay without Breeches upon raw Hides, that their Joints rotted,

ted, infomuch that when two of them were afterwards hang'd, one of their Feet fell off by the Anckle.

A *Scotchman* being driven out of the *Newry*, was knock'd on the Head by the Rebels; yet recovering himself, came naked again into the Town, whereupon the Rebels carried him and his Wife out of Town, cut him all to pieces, and with a Skein ripp'd up his Wife's Belly, so as a Child dropp'd out of her Womb.

A Dyer's Wife of *Rofs-Trevor* was kill'd at the *Newry*, and her Belly ripp'd up by the Rebels (she being great with Child of two Children) who threw her and her Children into a Ditch, and that he, this Deponent, drove away Swine from eating one of her Children.

The Rebels confessed that Colonel *Brian O Neil* kill'd about a thousand in this County, besides three hundred kill'd at *Killelagh*.

At *Servagh-bridge* 100 drown'd, more 80, more 60, more 50, more 60, 27 Men murther'd.

The County of *Dublin*.

About the 28th of *December*, 1641. the Wife of *Joseph Smithson*, Minister, was carried from *Dean's-Grange* near *Dublin*, to *Stellorgan*, from thence to *Powerscourt*, and there she and her Servant hang'd.

Henry Maudesley hang'd at *Moore-Town*.
Mr. Pardoe a Minister, and *William Rimmer* a Packet Post, murther'd at *Balrothery*, *Mr. Pardoe* being afterwards cast on a Dunghill, and his Head eaten with Swine.

Derrick Hubert of *Holm-Patrick*, Esq; murther'd the 2d of *December*, 1641.

Nicholas Kendiff murther'd near *Dublin*, since the Cessation.

Robert Fagan murther'd at *Clunduff*.

The County of *Fermanagh*.

Arthur Champion, and sixteen more, murther'd at *Shanock-Castle*; at another Time twenty four; at another Time two more murther'd.

One *Fermency* killed, and fourteen hang-ed.

Seven hang'd at one Time, and divers others put to Death.

Eighty (some write an hundred and fifty) Men, Women, and Children, burn'd and kill'd in the Castle of *Lisgorl* in the County of *Fermanagh*.

Ninety Protestants murther'd a *Moneagh-Castle*, eighty at *Tullagh-Castle*; near *Cordiller* three hang'd; one more hang'd.

Mr. Middleton and a hundred more murther'd by *Rowry Mac-Guire*, at *Castleskeagh*.
 Fourteen Protestants hang'd.

Forty

Forty Protestants in the Parish of *Newtown* murther'd.

Eighteen (some write seventeen) half hang'd in the Church of *Clownish*, and so buried.

Thirty murther'd in the Parish of *Clankelly*.

Twelve more murther'd in *Newtown*.

William Ogden murther'd.

Parson *Flack* and forty more (after Promise of safe Conveyance to *Balgshanon*) drown'd, by *Rowry Mac-Guire* and his Confederates.

One hundred fifty and two (another says a hundred) murther'd at *Tully*, after Quarter given or promised them.

Fifteen hang'd at *Lowtherstown*; two murther'd at *Kynally*.

A Child of *Thomas Strattons* of *Newton* boil'd to Death in a Cauldron.

The County of *Galloway*.

Mr. *Adam Novell* and six more, hang'd and murther'd by the Lord of *Clanmorris*.

Hugh Langridge murther'd near *Logbreogh*, having received near sixteen Wounds, and his Son having nine Wounds and left for dead, yet recovered.

Mr. *Corbet*, an ancient Minister, had his Head cut off by two young Cow-herds near *Logbreogh*.

Tho

The Son of an *Englishman* murther'd;
a Child so beaten as he died within three
Days.

Sixty five Protestants (some say eighty,
some ninety, many of them Ministers) were
murther'd at the Bridge of *Shreel* alias *Sbruel*,
Ludovicus Jones being amongst the rest
hurried there to that Intent, but escaped
and died at *Dublin* 1646, aged 104.

The County of *Kerry*.

Mrs. *Whittell*, her Husband, and eight
more murther'd on Sir *Valentine Brown's*
Lands; *John* and *Simon Heard* killed near
Castlehaven; Goodman *Cranbee*, his Wife
and Children, murther'd; seven drown'd
by *O Doinfaint's* Rebels.

Anthony Field's Wife and seven more
destroy'd by Sir *Valentine Brown's* Ten-
nants.

Mrs. *Burrill* kill'd in her House by her
own Servant; *Lawrence Parry*, his two
Sisters, and Mr. *Edward Lassel* starv'd to
Death; Mrs. *Huffie*, her Son and Daugh-
ter, and many more killed going from
Macrone to *Cork* (with a Convoy which
the Lord *Muskerry* did allow her) within
a Mile of *Cork*.

The

The County of *Kildare*.

Ralph Heyward (having turn'd to Mafs) was murther'd, his Wife and Children hang'd, the one at her Neck, the other at her Girdle; a Dog and a Cat hang'd with them.

Robert Woods shot to Death.

John Morley, his Wife and Children, and one *John Plivie* (after they were turn'd to Mafs) murther'd.

The County of *Kilkenny*.

About the 20th of *December*, 1641. the Protestants were stripp'd naked at *Kilkenny*, and whereas some of those stripp'd People with Ropes of Straw covered some Part of their Nakedness, the Rebels set the Straw on Fire, thereby burning and grievously scorching them. Six Soldiers and two Boys having Quarter given them, were nevertheless hanged at *Kilkenny*.

A young Girl stripp'd about *Easter*, 1642. in the City of *Kilkenny* by a Butcher, her Belly ripp'd up that her Intrals fell out; where the Mayor (upon Complaint of the Mother) bade away with her and dispatch her, whereupon the Mother received seventeen or eighteen Wounds, and her other Child was also extreamly wounded, and
all

all forced out of the City by Men, Women, and Boys, throwing Stones and Dirt at them, so as the two Children died in a Ditch.

At *Kilkenny* seven *Englishmen* hang'd, and one *Irishman*, because he was taken in their Company.

Twelve murther'd at the *Graige*, one of them (being a Woman great with Child) had her Belly ripp'd up, the Child falling out alive, and a Child of a Year and a half old hang'd. Another of them named *Robert Pyne* (being twice hang'd up) was cast into his Grave, where he sate up, saying, *Christ receive my Soul*, and so was buried quick.

An old Man hang'd, and afterwards dragg'd up and down till his Bowels fell out.

Christopher Morley, and two *English* Boys, at *Castle-Comer* hang'd. Another had his Head clove, and before he was dead, hung on his Father's Tenter-hooks.

About sixty Men, Women, and Children more murther'd at the *Graige*; many of them buried alive.

At *Balincolough*, within four Miles of *Ross*, April 1642. *John Stone* of the *Graige*, his Son, his two Sons-in-Law, and his two Daughters were hang'd; one of his Daughters being great with Child, had her Belly ripp'd up, her Child taken forth, and such
barba-

barbarous beastly Actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned:

In *Kilkenny*, *Richard Philips*, and five other Soldiers under Capt. *Farrall* (a Captain on his Majesty's Party) were (by the Command of the Lord *Mountgarret*) at the End of an House hang'd to Death about *Easter*, 1642.

The King's County.

Mrs. *Jane Addis* of *Kilcourse* (after her going to Mass) murther'd in her House in *Fox Countrey Com. Regis*, having a Child not a Quarter old; the Murtherers putting the dead Woman's Breast into the Child's Mouth, bade it suck *English* Bastard, and so left it.

Arthur Scot murther'd at *Laslooney*, having twenty Wounds given him. Another *Englishman* hang'd at the same Place.

Two Men murther'd at *Philips-town*.

Seven murther'd at the *Birr*.

Thomas Horam hang'd at *Philips-town*.

Henry Bigland and eleven more hang'd and murther'd about *Knocknemeis*.

A Woman aged eighty Years stripped naked in Frost and Snow by two Daughters of *Rowry Cogblan* of *Fercall-wood*, before whose Door she died.

John Lurcan murther'd and chopp'd in Pieces.

Four

A P P E N D I X.

Four *English* murther'd at *Terence Coghlans's* House (*Kilgolgan*) about *December*, 1641.

Two and twenty Widows, and several stripped naked, who covering themselves in a House with Straw, the Rebels fired the Straw, and threw it amongst them to burn them; and they had been burn'd, had they not been rescued by others, who turn'd them out naked in Frost and Snow, so as many died; yea the Children died in their Mothers Arms.

The County of *Lytrim*.

Mr. *William Liston*, and Mr. *Thomas Fullerton* (Clerks) kept two Days without Meat or Drink, and then murther'd near *Mannor Hamilton* *January* 24, 1641.

An *English* Child taken by the Heels, had its Brains dash'd out against a Block of Timber.

The County of *Lymerick*.

A Minister, his Wife, and four Children murther'd by *Hugh Kenedy* and his Followers near *Lymerick*.

The County of *Londonderry*.

Six hundred *English* murther'd at *Ger-vagh*, by Sir *Phelim O Neil*. The

The County of *Longford*.

Many cruelly murther'd at *Longford*, after *Quarter* promised.

William Steel and four others hang'd at a Windmill near to *Racleen* till they were half dead, and then cut in Pieces by the Rebels.

The Wife of *Henry Mead* hang'd; the said *Henry* himself being placed in a Ring amongst the Rebels, each stabbing of him as he was forced to flie from Side to Side, and so continued till his Shoulder and Breast were cut in two with a Bill-hook.

George Forster, his Wife and Child, and the Wife of *John Bizell*, murther'd at *Bil-linecòrr*; one other drown'd; some Children there buried alive.

The County of *Lowth*.

Eighteen of the Lord *Moor's* Servants murther'd at *Mellifort* by Col. *Cole Mac Bryan Mac Mahon* and his Followers, who would not suffer them to be buried.

The County of *Mayo*.

About seven and twenty Protestants, besides Children, drown'd in the Bay or Harbour

bour near *Killala*, by the Instigation of the Friers.

Thirty or forty *English* (formerly turn'd Papists) drown'd in the Sea near *Killala*.

A young Boy (Mr. *Montgomerie's* Son) killed by one that had been his School-Master; the Boy the while crying, *Good Master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will.* A Man wounded and buried alive. A Minister murther'd after he had gone to Mass: Another hang'd near *Ballyben*.

At the *Moyne* alias *Mogne*, 59 Protestants stripped naked, and after barbarously murther'd; some encrease the Number much.

William Gibb and his Wife (both very old) murther'd at the *Moyne*.

One hundred and twenty Men, Women, and Children stripped naked, and after murther'd at *Bellick* alias *Belleeke*.

George Buchanan mortally wounded, was near the *Strade* buried alive by *Edmond O Maghery* and his Followers.

August 1643, The Wife of *John Gardiner* of the Barony of *Carrogh*, having Leave, and a Convoy of two *Irishmen*, to visit her Children at *Bellick*, was by the said Convoy cruelly murther'd.

At the *Moyne* the Rebels forced one *Simon Leper's* Wife to kill her Husband, and then
caused

caused her Son to kill her, and then hang'd the Son.

The County of *Meath*.

Near *Navan* the Son of *James Wignall* murther'd about *Novemb. 1641*.

Mrs. *Heglin* and her Daughter, with two Children, murther'd at *Wilkins-town* by two Men hired thereto for two Barrels of Wheat; and *Robert Robin* murther'd near Sir *William Hill's* House.

Mr. *John Ware* murther'd at *Moylagh*; four more hang'd at the *Navan*.

An *English* Woman (a Papist) murther'd at *Gerald Fitz Gerald's* House at *Clonard*.

The Murther of *Thomas Pressick* and others at *Trim*.

The County of *Monaghan*.

Many Protestants hang'd at *Carrick-mac-crofs*.

Sixteen Protestants at once hang'd at *Clounish*; several others there also hang'd, and sixteen Women and Children drown'd in a Turf-pit.

The Deponent's Father and Son murther'd.

Richard Blancy, Esq; hang'd.

Some murther'd in *Monaghan*.

Y

Seven

A P P E N D I X.

Seven murther'd in the *Fews*; Mr. *Lloyd* and others murther'd, and one buried quick.

John Hughes and 24 murther'd
Eighteen murther'd.

Seventeen Men, Women, and Children drown'd at *Ballycross*.

Many murther'd, and four drown'd.

Cornet *Clinton* and his Grandchild drown'd; many others murther'd.

Queen's County.

Five murther'd, whereof one was an *English* Woman (turn'd to Maf) great with Child, who was shot.

John Nicholson and his Wife murther'd by *Florence Fitz-Patrick* and his Servants on the Sabbath-Day, the first Deponent hardly escaped Death for burying them. *Elizabeth Baskerville* says that Mrs. *Fitz-Patrick* blam'd the Murtherers because they brought not Mrs. *Nicholson's* Fat or Grease, wherewith she might have made Candles.

Thomas Keyes, (a Justice of Peace of the Queen's County) Esq; aged 66, and *Thomas Dubbleday* hang'd near *Burroughs Castle*, and *Dubbleday* shot as he was hanging, both being first stripped naked, gored and pricked in several Parts of their Bodies.

Amy Mamphin's Husband murther'd, and she compell'd to stand in his Blood, and she

she being stripped naked, was drawn by the Hair through Thorns, and after sent away.

An *English* Girl half hang'd, and so buried.

Six *English* hang'd by *Florence Fitz-Patrick*, after Quarter given, 1641.

Near *Kilfeckell*, an *Englishman* and his Wife, and four or five Children, hang'd by Command of *Sir Morgan Kavanagh*, and *Mr. Robert Harpole*; all afterwards cast into one Hole, the youngest Child (not fully dead) putting up the Hand, and crying *Mammy, Mammy*, yet buried alive.

Mary Harding put in the Stocks, and whipp'd to Death, and her Husband starv'd to Death by *Florence Fitz-Patrick* and his Followers, after they had given him all their Goods in his Promise to relieve them and theirs.

County of *Roscommon*.

Sixteen *English* hang'd at *Ballilegue*, by *Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerald* of *Ballilegue*.

Nine murther'd at *Ballinafad*, whereof four were Children, and one Woman great with Child, through whose Belly the Rebels thrust their Pikes as she was hanging, because (as they said) the Child should not live.

John Price and several others murther'd in *Athlone*.

William Stewart had Collops cut off him being alive, Fire-Coals put into his Mouth, his Belly ripp'd up, and his Entrails wrapped about his Neck and Wrists.

The County of *Sligo*.

Mr. *Thomas Stewart*, Merchant, and seven and thirty Protestants put into the Goal of *Sligo*, all except two or three murther'd there the same Night, by divers breaking in upon them at Midnight; for Proof whereof see the Examinations of

Four murther'd that Day in the Streets of *Sligo*.

Elizabeth Beard was killed in the River by a Fryar's Man.

A Fryar with some Soldiers undertaking to conduct Mr. *Thomas Walker*, a Minister, his Man, and two Gentlewomen, from *Rosferk* to *Abbeboyle*, the Fryar riding away, they fell into an Ambush laid for them, where Mr. *Walker* (being on his Knees at Prayer) they cleft his Skull to his Mouth, kill'd his Man, and stripped the Women, one of which was afterwards murthered at *Ballymoate*.

Five and forty Men, Women, and Children, murther'd and destroy'd near *Ballyse-kerry*.

Mr.

Mr. *William Ollifant*, Clerk, stripp'd half naked at *Temple-house*, and after dragg'd with a Rope about his Neck at a Horse's-Heels up and down, because he would not turn Papist; another Minister at the same Time murther'd, 1641.

At *Ardneglas* and *Skreen* about thirty Protestants, Men, Women, and Children, murther'd.

Ten Men, Women, and Children, buried alive near *Titemple* or *Temple-house*.

In *Sligo* the Rebels forced one *Lewis* the younger to kill his Father, and they hang'd the Son.

The County of *Tipperary*.

January 1641. Fifteen Men, Women, and Children, Protestants, murther'd in *Cashell*, and near *Cashell* three or four Children murther'd by a Convoy.

Four and twenty *English* (after they had revolted to the Mass) murther'd at the Silver Mines.

James Hooker, Gent. and Mr. *John Stuckley* and six more murther'd on Sir *Richard Everet's* Land; Mr. *Richard Walker* and ten more hang'd at *Rathell*; *George Crawford* and above fifty more murther'd: *Joyce*, a Maid of Mr. *Walker's*, buried alive; Mr. *Carr*, Mr. *Carter*, and some eighteen more, hang'd and murther'd near *Cashell*; Mr.

Dashwood (to whom the Rebels gave Quarter and Convoy to *Michaels-town*) by one *Prender-gast-Prender*, murther'd on his own Land.

County of *Tyrone*.

Robert Bickerdick and his Wife drown'd in the *Black-water*; *Thomas Carlisle* put to Death; *James Carlisle* and his Wife also murthered; and so were about ninety seven more.

The Murther of Mr. *John Mather* and Mr. *Blyth* (both Clerks) in or near *Dungannon*, though Mr. *Blyth* had Sir *Phelim O Neil's* Protection; and sixty Families of the Town of *Dungannon* murther'd.

Near three hundred murther'd in the Way to *Colrain*, by Direction from Sir *Phelim O Neil* and *Firlagh* his Brother.

In and about *Dungannon* three hundred and sixteen murther'd; between *Charlemont* and *Dungannon* about four hundred murther'd; drown'd at, and in the River of *Benburb* and *Black-water*, 206.

Thirteen murther'd one Morning by *Patric Mac Crew* of *Dungannon*; two young Rebels did murther in the County *Tyrone* one hundred and forty Women and Children; the Wife of *Bryan Kelly* of *Loghgall* murther'd five and forty with her own Hands.

At

At a Mill-pool in the Parish of *Killamon*, were drown'd in one Day three hundred.

Eighteen *Scotch* Infants hang'd on Clothiers Tenterhooks; and one young fat *Scotchman* murther'd, and Candles made of his Grease; another *Scotchman's* Belly ripp'd up, and the End of his small Guts tied to a Tree, then he drawn about till his Guts were pulled out, that they might try (said they) whether a Dog's or a *Scotchman's* Guts were longest.

County of *Westmeath*.

In *Kilbeggan* a Boy and two Women hang'd, one of them having a sucking Child, desired it might be buried with her, knowing it would suffer afterwards, but it was cast out and starved to Death.

William Sibthorp, Parish-Clerk of *Mullingar* hang'd; *Edmund Dalton* and Mr. *Moorehead's* Son murther'd.

County of *Wickloe*.

Edward Snape, and two others hang'd, (Nov. 1641.) in *Knockrath-Park*.

John the Son of *William Leeson* stripp'd and hang'd at *Balligarny*, Nov. 1641.

A young Child of (a Year and Quarter old) the Deponent's taken from her Back,
Y 4
thrown

thrown and trodden upon, that it died, the Mother and three other Children stripp'd naked, so as the said Children died ; this was done upon the Lands of *Bordkillamore*, about the 11th of *November* 1641.

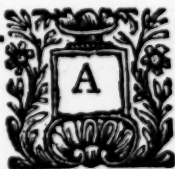




*A COLLECTION of some of
the Massacres and Murthers
comitted on the Irish, in
Ireland, since the 23d of
October, 1641.*

County of Antrim.

1641.



ABOUT the Beginning of
November, the *English* and
Scotch Forces in *Cnockfer-*
gus murther'd in one Night,
all the Inhabitants of the Territory of the
Island *Gee*, to the Number of above
three thousand Men, Women, and Chil-
dren, all innocent Persons, in a Time when
none of the Catholicks of that County were
in Arms or Rebellion. Note, that this was
the first Massacre committed in *Ireland* of
either Side.

1641. Mr. *Mac Naghten* having built a
small Fortress in the said County, to pre-
serve himself and his Followers from Out-
rages, until he had understood what the
Cause of the then Rebellion was; as soon
as Colonel *Campbel* came near with Part of
the

the Army, he sent to let him know, that he would come to him with his Party, which he did, and they were next Day murdered to the Number of eighty, by Sir *John Clothworthy*, now Lord *Masselin*, his Soldiers.

About the same Time a hundred poor Women and Children were murdered in one Night, at a Place called *Balliaghium*, by Direction of the *English* and *Scotch* Officers commanding in that County.

County of *Derry*.

1641. Some three hundred Men, Women, and Children of the *Irish*, having freely come under the Protection of the Garrison of *Londonderry*, were stripp'd, plundered and killed by the said Garrison.

1644. Mr. *Morris*, Mr. *Daniel*, natural Son to the late Earl *Antrim*, was hanged at *Coolrane* by the Governor's Orders, notwithstanding he had Col. *Michael Jones's* Pass.

County of *Down*.

1641. The Burgeffes and Inhabitants of the Town of *Newry*, meeting the *English* Army on their March to besiege the Castle of the said Town, were received into Protection, and after Quarter given to the Gar-

Garrison of the said Castle, the said Inhabitants, and the Soldiers of the said Garrison, to the Number of five hundred and upwards, Men, Women, and Children, were brought on the Bridge of the *Newry*, and thrown into the River, and such of them as endeavoured to escape by swimming were murdered.

County of *Donegal*.

1641. About the 20th of *November*, Sir *William Steward* commanded the Gentry and Inhabitants of that County, to joyn with his Forces in Opposition to the Rebels, and accordingly they came to the Place appointed, where Captain *Cunningham* with a Party of the said Sir *William's* Regiment, under pretence of incorporating with them; fell upon the Inhabitants with his armed Soldiers, and killed very many of them; among whom were *Owen Mac Sherney*, *Morris O Farey* and *Donnagh O Callan*, Gentlemen of Quality and Estates.

About the same Time Captain *Flemming*, and other Officers of the said Regiment, commanding a Party, smothered to Death two hundred and twenty Women and Children in two Caves.

About the same Time the aforesaid Captain *Cunningham* murdered about sixty three Women and Children in the Isles of *Rosse*.

1641.

1641. The Governor of *Letter Kenny*, gathered together on a Sunday Morning 53 poor People, most of them Women and Children, and caused them to be thrown off the Bridge into the River, and drowned them all.

1641. In *November*, one *Reading*, murder'd the Wife and three Children of *Shane O Morbhgy*, in a Place called *Ballikenny* of *Ramalton*, and after her Death cut off her Breasts with his Sword.

1641, 1642. The Garrisons of *Rapho*, *Drombo*, *Lifford*, and *Castle-raghen*, slaughtered no less than fifteen hundred of the poor neighbouring Inhabitants, never in Arms, and three Persons were chiefly noted among them for their barbarous Cruelty, by Name *James Graham*, *Henry Dugan*, and *Robert Cunningham*, commonly called the Killer of old Women.

1641, 1642. About two thousand poor Labourers, Women and Children, of the *Barreny* of *Terbu* were massacred by the Garrisons of *Bellashanny* and *Donegal*; and Lieutenant *Thomas Poe*, an Officer among them, coming under Colour of Friendship to visit a Neighbour that lay sick in his Bed, and to whom he owed Money, carried a naked Dagger under his Cloak, which (whilst he seemed to bow towards the sick Man in a friendly Manner, asking how he did) he thrust it into his Body, and told his

his Wife, her Husband should be no longer sick, and so killed him.

1650. In the Month of *June* about three thousand Horse and Foot of his Majesty's Army, being defeated near *Letter Kenny*, by the *English* Rebels adhering to *Cromwell*, most of the principal Officers of the said Party taken Prisoners in the Battle, were killed in cold Blood, by Order of Sir *Charles Coot*, late Lord of *Montrath*, notwithstanding they had Quarter from the Officers, who took them Prisoners.

The County of *Monagham*.

1641. Captain *Townsfley*, Governor of *Magborneckle*, killed four Labourers and a Woman, being under Protection.

Captain *Bromwel*, Governor of *Clunes*, meeting upon the Road with Mr. *Charles O Connelly*, a Gentleman living under his Protection, caused him to be shot to Death.

1641. The Soldiers of the Garrisons of *Dundalk* and *Trim*, killed no less than five hundred poor innocent Persons, Women and Children, in that County.

1641, 1642. The Armies of *Montroe* and the *Legan*, in their several Marches, through that Country, slaughtered about two thousand poor old Men, Women and Children.

1652. Colonel *Barrow* of *Cromwell's* Army, having taken an Island defended by Lieutenant Colonel *Patrick*, Mr. *Mahon* for his Majesty, after killing the said Lieutenant Colonel and his Soldiers, put all the Women and Children to the Sword, to the Number of eighty, among whom a little pretty Child of six Years old, being spared by the Soldiers, was killed by Order of the said Colonel *Barrow*.

County of *Cavan*.

1641. Mr. *De la Pool* an *English* Gentleman, having taken Lands in that County some Years before the War, invited several of his Friends to come out of *England*, and live with him, who were all murdered in their Houses by the Army (only the said *De la Pool*, who was brought into the Town of *Cavan*, and there hanged) for no other Reason, but their being *Roman* Catholicks, and living among the *Irish*.

1641. Sir *Alexander Godren* and his Lady, being *Scotch*, but *Roman* Catholicks, each of them above seventy Years old, were plundered of their Goods, and stripp'd naked, and all their Tenants, Servants, and all their Sons murdered.

In the same Year the *English* Forces in this County drowned six hundred Men,
Wo-

Women, and Children, in and about *Butler's-Bridge*, no Murthers having been committed on any Protestants there, although in the Pamphlet lately printed, several Murthers are said to be committed in that Place.

County of *Mayo*.

In this County few Murthers were committed by either Side, though the Libel saith, that about two hundred and fifty Protestants were murdered, whereof at *Bellicke* two hundred and twenty, whereas not one Person was murdered there, which the now Lady of *Montrath* can witness; her Ladyship, Sir *Robert Hanna* her Father, with many others being retreated thither for Security, were all conveyed safe to *Mannor Hamilton*, and it is observable, that the said Lady and the rest came to Mr. *Owen O Rorrk's*, who kept a Garrison at *Drumahier* for the *Irish*, before they came to *Mannor Hamilton*, whose Brother was Prisoner with Sir *Frederick Hamilton*, and the said Mr. *Rorrk* having so many Persons of Quality in his Hand, sent to Sir *Frederick* to enlarge his Brother, and that he would convey them all safe to him: Sir *Frederick* instead of an enlarging his Brother, hanged him the next Day after he received the Message, which might have

I well

well provoked the Gentleman to a Revenge, if he had not more Humanity, than could be well expected upon such an Occasion, and in Times of so great Confusion, yet he sent them all safe where they desired.

There was a Murther committed near the *Moyne*, on twenty seven Protestants, which was all (and that too many) that was committed in that County. *Buchanan*, said to be buried alive, was killed in a private Quarrel, and he cut off his Adversaries Hand, before himself was killed.

County of *Gallway*, and Province of *Connaght*.

Anno 1642. Serjeant *Redmond Burk*, of the Lord of *Clanmorris* his Foot Company, and two more, were hanged by the then Governor of the Fort of *Gallway*, the said Lord being then of his Majesty's Army, for which Action no Reparation being given to his Lordship, he pretended it to be the Occasion of his Revolt from the Lord Marquess of *Clanrickard*.

Anno 1642. A Party of the Garrison of the said Fort, murdered six People in *Rinneel*, amongst whom one *Geoffery Fitz Thibbot*, aged about Seventy Years, and in a burning Fever, with his Wife who was old, were murdered in their Beds; which Acti-

on

on provoked many of the Neighbours to stand on their guard against the said Fort.

Anno 52. Redmond Burke, a Colonel in his Majesty's Army, had Quarter given him by some of Colonel *Coot's* Men, he being taken in a Skirmish between Colonel *Grace*, and some of *Cromwell's* Party, and being Prisoner for some Time, Colonel *Henry Ingoldsby* caused his Head to be cut off.

Anno 52, 53. It was an usual Practice with Colonel *Stubbers*, then Governor of *Gallway*, and others, commanding in the said County, to take the People out of their Beds at Nights, and sell them for Slaves to the *Indies*, and by Computation sold out of the said County above a thousand Souls.

Murthers committed in the said County of Gallway on Protestants.

Anno 42. It is confessed, that two Protestants were murdered in that County, whereof one was a Minister as the Libel says, but it is most certain, that the Lord Marquess of *Clanrickard* caused the three Men, who murdered one of them, to be hanged in Gibbets in three several Places, and by his Lordship's Orders, Sir *Roger O Shaghnesy* hanged the two Cow-heards who murdered the other.

Anno 42. It is confessed, that the Lord of *Clanmorris* having declared against the said Fort, for hanging his Serjeant as above expressed, took Serjeant *Rowleright*, and two or three more of the Soldiers of the said Fort, pillaging a Village near *Gallway*, and hanged *Rowleright*, and the other three.

It is also confessed, that a barbarous Murther was committed by one *Edmund Alta*, an irreligious prophane Fellow of the County of *Mayo*, and his wicked Complices on some Protestants at *Sbruel*, a Place meeting with the County of *Gallway*, on about thirty Persons; and the Pamphleteer might well remember that the neighbouring Gentry came with all Expedition to rescue the said Protestants, and that they did rescue the Bishop of *Killala* (who by the Pamphlet seems to have been murdered) and his Wife and Children, with the most Part of the said Protestants; and *Bryen Killkenny* a Fryar, then Guardian of the Abbey of *Rofs* near *Sbruel*, was of the first that made haste to that rescue, and brought the said Bishop's Wife and Children, with several others of the said distressed Protestants, to his Monastery, where they found as much Civility as was in the said Fryar's Power to give them for several Nights, until Mr. *Burk* of *Castle Hacket* brought the said Bishop, his Wife and Family to his own House,

House, where they wanted nothing he could afford them for some Weeks, the like being done by several other neighbouring Gentlemen to the rest of the said Protestants, until they were sent to Places of Security, by the Lord Marquess *Clanrickard's* Order, yet the said Fryar hath been these eight Years past kept a Prisoner for his Function or Calling, without any other Crime laid to his Charge, now being above eighty Years of Age.

And it is observable, that in this County of *Gallway* all the War Time several Protestant Ministers, *viz.* Dean *York*, Mr. *Corroyn*, Mr. *Nelly*, and other Ministers, had their Protestant Flocks and Meetings without Interruption, living amongst the *Irish*.

County of *Roscommon*.

No Murthers were committed by any Party in this County, only five Persons at *Bellanafada* by one *Roger O Conor*; and no Murther was committed at *Bellalègue* during the War, although in the Pamphlet the contrary is expressed; nor no such Man as *William Steward* was known in that County, nor to have been murdered there, though the Abstract sets forth his being murdered in a most barbarous Manner.

County of *Leotrim*.

Anno 1641. It was commonly known to all Sides, how cruel the Governor of *Man-nor Hamilton* was in that County, how he usually invited Gentlemen to dine with him, and hanged them after Dinner, and caused their Thighs to be broke with Hatchets before Execution.

Also the said Governor being in *Ulster*, when the Rebellion broke forth, desired one Mr. *Iraght* (a Gentleman, who professed much Friendship to him) to do him the Favour to guide him in Safety to *Man-nor Hamilton* aforesaid, which the Gentleman did, and came near upon a hundred Miles with him, after being friendly treated for some Days by the said Governor, he hanged without the least Occasion; neither was the Gentleman in the Rebellion, but was hanged least he should. The Libel says, three Protestants were murdered in this County, but on due Examination, it will be found there was none.

County of *Sligoe*.

Here is none at this Time, who can give any exact Account of the Murthers committed in this County, but one remarkable Murther; that in *Crean's* Castle in the

Town of *Sligoe*, the *Irish* had a Party commanded by Major *Richard Burke*, after obtaining Quarter for them to march away, to the Number of about two hundred, were murdered rendering the Castle; this Sir *Audley Mervyne* knoweth to be true.

County of *Dublin*.

1641. About the Beginning of *November*, five poor Men (whereof two were Protestants) coming from the Market of *Dublin*, and lying that Night at *Santry*, three Miles from thence, were murdered upon their Beds by one Captain *Smith*, and a Party of the Garrison of *Dublin*, and their Heads brought next Day in Triumph into the City, which occasioned *Luke Nettervel* and *George King*, and others of the Neighbours, to write to the Lords Justices to know the Cause of the said Murther, whereupon their Lordships issued forth a Proclamation, that within five Days the Gentry should come to *Dublin* to receive Satisfaction, and in the mean while (before the five Days were expired) old Sir *Charles Coote* came out with a Party, plundered and burned the Town of *Clontraffe*, distant two Miles from *Dublin*, belonging to the said *George King*, nominated in the Proclamation, and killed sixteen of the Townsmen and Women, and three suck-

ing Infants; which unexpected Breach of the Proclamation (having deterred the Gentlemen from waiting of the Lords Justices) forced many of them to betake themselves to their natural Defence, and others to abandon their Houses.

In the same Week fifty six Men, Women and Children, of the Village of *Bullogge* (being frightened at what was done at *Clontraffe*) took Boats and went to Sea, to shun the Fury of a Party of Soldiers come out of *Dublin*, under the Command of Colonel *Crafford*, but being pursued by the Soldiers in other Boats, were overtaken and thrown overboard.

One *Russel*, a Baker in *Dublin*, coming out of the Country, in Company with Mr. *Archbold* of *Clochram* (who went to take hold of the said Proclamation of the Lords Justices) were both hang'd and quartered.

1641. In *March*, a Party of Horse of the Garrison of *Donsogblin*, murdered seven or eight poor People in Protection, Tenants to Mr. *Dillon* of *Hunstowne*, having quartered in their Houses the Night before, and receiving such Entertainment as the poor People could afford.

About the same Time, a Party of the *English* quartered at *Mallabyde*, hanged a Servant of Mr. *Robert Boynes* at the Plough, and forced a poor Labourer to hang his own Brother, and soon after they hanged fifteen

fifteen of the Inhabitants of *Swoards*, who never bore Arms, in the Orchard of *Malla-byde*, and hanged a Woman bemoaning her Husband hanged amongst them.

In the same Year, after Quarter given by Lieutenant Colonel *Gibson*, to those of the Castle of *Carriggmain*, they were all put to the Sword, being about three hundred and fifty, most of them Women and Children, and Colonel *Washington* endeavouring to save a pretty Child of seven Years of Age, carried him under his Cloak, but the Child against his Will was killed in his Arms, which was a principal Motive of his Quitting that Service.

1642. In *April* one *Nicholas Hart*, and fourteen Labourers, going with Corn to the Market of *Dublin*, and having a Pass, were all murdered upon the Road, by a Party commanded abroad by Lord *Lambert*. The same Day Mr. *Sarsfield* of *Lucan*, sent his Groom to guide the Lord of *Gesil's* Troop, which the Fellow having perform'd, was knock'd on the Head for his Labour. The same Day eighteen Villages in Protection, the furthest within six Miles to *Dublin*, were plundered and burned, and to the Number of four hundred Men, Women, and Children, were cruelly massacred.

About the same Time, a Party of the Garrison of *Swoards*, having brought in thirty poor Labourers, forced them to

dig their own Graves, and then killed them.

Much about that Time, one *Benet*, Sheriff of the County, kill'd sixteen Men and Women, coming from the Market of *Dublin* in *May*. A Party under the Command of Colonel *Crafford*, murdered one hundred forty Women and Children in *Newcastle* and *Coolmine*, being under Protection.

1641, 1642. Many thousands more of the poor innocent People of that County, shunning the Fury of the Soldiers, fled several Times into Thickets of Firs, which the Soldiers did usually fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forced them back again to be burnt, and the rest of the Inhabitants for the most Part died of Famine.

1649. Captain *Harrington*, a Protestant, and three hundred Officers and Soldiers, taken Prisoners at the Defeat given his Majesty's Army before *Dublin*, were, after Quarter given, put to Death by Order of Colonel *Michael Jones*.

Mr. *Wogan* of *Rathcoffy*, having Quarter given him in the same Time, by Captain *Ottoway*, was killed by Lieutenant *Tomson*, as he rid behind one of *Ottoway's* Troopers; and one Mr. *Hiny*, an aged Person, after dividing his Goods to the Value of fifteen hundred Pounds among the Soldiers, was knocked in the Head, together with his Daughter, her Husband and four Children, after Quarter.

Note,

Note, That no less than twelve thousand of the poor Inhabitants of that County, were cruelly massacred the first Year of the War.

County of *Kildare*.

1641. Captain *Thomas Hues*, having summoned thirty three Contributors to meet him at *Hodge's-town*, caused them all to be murdered.

1641. The said *Hues* murdered Mrs. *Eustare*, Aunt to Sir *Robert Talbot*, ninety Years old, (with two Gentlewomen that waited on her) after she entertained him friendly in her House.

1641. The Soldiers of *Clongowe's-Wood* and *Rathcoffy*, yielding upon Quarter, were conveyed to *Dublin* and hanged there, and upwards of an hundred and fifty Women and Children, were found in the said Places murdered.

Anno 51. Captain *Hulet* coming to Sir *John Dongan's* House at *Castle-town*, to search for a Priest, tortured a Child of Sir *John's* of seven Years of Age, with lighted Matches to force a Confession from him where the Priest was, and the poor Child not telling, or not knowing, *Hulet* hung him up with the Reins of his Bridle, but the Troopers when *Hulet's* Back was turn'd, cut him down half Dead, whereof the Child died soon after. It

It is well known, that the Commons of that County, were for the most Part destroyed and slaughtered by the *English*, in-somuch, that there were not so many left Living, as could gather the 20th Part of the Harvest.

County of *Meath*.

1642. In *April*, Mrs. *Elinor Taaffe* of *Tullag Hanoge*, sixty Years old, and six Women more, were murdered by the Soldiers of the Garrison of *Trim*, and a blind Woman aged eighty Years, was inclosed with Straw by them, to which they set Fire and so burnt her: The same Day they hanged two Women in *Kilbride*, and two old decrepit Men that begged Alms of them.

In the same Year, Mr. *Walter Dulin* an old Man, unable to stir abroad many Years, before the War, was killed in his own House, by Lieutenant Colonel *Broughton's* Troopers, notwithstanding the said *Broughton's* Protection, which the old Man produced.

1642. Mr. *Walter Euers*, a Justice of Peace and *Coram*, an aged Man and Bedrid of the Palsy long before the Rebellion, was carried in a Cart to *Trim*, and there hanged by the Governor's Orders.

Anno 1642. Many Plowmen were killed in *Philbert's-town* by the Garrison at *Beetive*.

1642. Forty Men, Women, and Children in Protection, reaping their Harvest in *Bone's-town*, were killed by a Troop of the said Garrison, who upon the same Day killed Mrs. *Alfon Read*, at *Donsagblin*, being eighty nine Years old; and forty Persons more, most of them Women and Children, shunning the Fury of the said Troop, were overtaken and slaughtered.

1642. About seventy Men, Women and Children, Tenants to Mr. *Francis Mac O Voy*, and under Protection, were killed by *Greenvil's* Soldiers, and a hundred and sixty more in the Parish of *Rathcoare*, whereof there was an aged Couple blind fifteen Years before.

1642. Captain *Sandford*, and his Troopers, murdered in and about *Mulbussay* upwards of one hundred Men, Women and Children, under Protection, and caused one *Conor Breslan* to be stuck with a Knife into the Throat, and so bled to Death; and one *Eleaner Cusaack*, one hundred Years old, was tied about with lighted Matches, and so tortured to Death in *Clonmoghan*.

1642. *James Dowlan*, about a hundred Years old, *Donagh Comen*, *Derby Dennis*, *Roger Bolan*, and several other Labourers
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and Women, to the Number of a hundred and sixty, making their Harvest, were all slaughtered by the Garrison of *Trim*.

1642. Mr. *Barnwal* of *Tobertinian*, and Mr. *John Hufseg*, innocent Persons, were hanged at *Trim* by old Sir *Charles Coote's* Party.

1642. *Gerrald Lynch* of *Donower*, aged eighty Years, was killed by Troopers of *Trim*, being in Protection.

Mr. *Thomas Talbot* of *Crawl's-town*, about eighty Years old, being protected, and a known Servitor to the Crown, (having been Lieutenant of *Horse* to the Lord of *Hoath's* Troop in the Battle of *Kinsale*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign,) was killed at his own Door, by some of Captain *Marroe's* Troop.

1642. About the Month of *April*, the Soldiers, under the said *Greenvil's* Command, killed in and about the *Navan* eighty Men, Women and Children, who lived under Protection.

1641. Captain *Wentworth* and his Company, garrisoned at *Donmo*, killed no less than two hundred protected Persons in the Parish of *Donamora Slane*, and Barrony of *Margellin*, and *Ovmorein*, the Town of *Ardmulchan King's-town* and *Hari's-town*, all protected Persons.

• 1642. Sir *Richard Greenfield's* Troop killed forty two Men, Women and Children, and eighteen Infants at *Doram's-town*.

1642.

1642. A Woman under Protection, was by Captain *Marrow's* Soldiers put into the Stock of a Tuckmill and so tuckt to Death, in the Town of *Steedalte*.

Lieutenant *Ponsonby* put two aged protected Persons to death at *Dowan's-town*, each of them about eighty Years old.

Captain *Marrow* caused about an hundred protected Persons, Men, Women and Children, to be put to death in the *Barony* of *Dooleek*, and Lieutenant *John Teneb* killed a protected Person seventy Years old near *Dooleek*.

Mr. *Patrick White*, Son and Heir of Mr. *White* of *Clangil*, in Protection, was taken out of his Bed and knock'd on the Head, by Lieutenant *Luaton* of the Garrison of *Trim*.

1647. Three thousand Soldiers at the Battle of *Dongan's-hill*, were killed after Quarter given them, by Colonel *Michael Jones*, and many *Irish* Officers taken in the Battle, and deeply wounded were killed the next Day after, when they could not march on Foot.

1649. After the Taking of *Drogheda* by *Cromwell*, the Slaughter of Men, Women and Children, continued there for four or five Days together in cold Blood, to the Number of about four thousand.

Many

Many thousands of the poor Inhabitants of this County were destroyed in the Firs, as those in the County of *Dublin*, and the rest for the most Part perished with Famine.

County of *Westmeath*.

1642. About the latter End of *March*, Mr. *Christopher Mac Gawley*, notwithstanding the Protection of the Duke of *Ormond*, was killed in his own House with two of his Servants, by a Party of the *English* Army marching to *Atblone*, who laying the said Protection on the said *Gawley's* Breast, shot him through his Protection, to try whether it was Proof against a Bullet.

1642. Mrs. *Ellis Dillon* of *Killenenin*, having the Lord Justices Protection for herself, and her Tenants, was plundered, and forty of the said Tenants, their Wives and Children were killed by Soldiers under Sir *Michael Earnely's* Command.

County of *Lowth*.

1641. In the Month of *February*, about three hundred poor People, Men, Women and Children, were cruelly slaughtered in the Wood of *Deruer*, by a Party of the Garrison of *Dondalke* and *Tredath*.

1641.

1641. About the Beginning of *March*, about three hundred Farmers and Labourers never in Arms, with their Wives and Children, were massacred by a Party of the Garrisons of *Dondalke* and *Tredath* in *Redmoore* of *Bragan's-town*.

About the same Time Captain *Charles Townsly*, and Lieutenant *Faithful Townsly*, with a Party of the *English* Army and Garrison of *Dondalke*, slaughtered at *Dunmogham* two hundred and twenty Inhabitants of several Villages, commanded by the Officers of the said Army to live in that Place for their greater Security.

A Party of the said Garrison of *Tredath* and *Dondalke*, killed above two hundred Persons in the Castle of *Reag's-town*, after Quarter given.

1641. One *Anthony Townsly* hanged Mr. *Dromgole* of *Dromgole's-town* at his own Gate; the said *Townsly* hanged upward of thirty poor Men and Women, going to the Markets of *Dundalke* and *Tredath*, on a Tree, commonly called eight Mile Bush, Mid-way between the said Towns.

1642. A Party of Horse and Foot of the Garrison of *Tradath*, kill'd and burnt in the Firs, above one hundred and sixty Men, Women, and Children, of the Inhabitants of *Termonfeighin*, within three Miles of *Tredath*; no less than ten thousand of the poor Inhabitants of that County, though they
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are not taxed with any Murther committed on the *Protestants*, according to their own Abstract, were massacred.

County of *Wicklow*.

October, 1641. Three Women, whereof one Gentlewoman big with Child, and a Boy, were hanged on the Bridge of *Neuragh*, by Command of old Sir *Charles Coote* in his first March to that County, and caused his Guide to blow into his Pistol, and so shot him Dead; he also hang'd a poor Butcher on the same March called *Thomas Mac William*.

1641. Mr. *Dennis Conyam* of *Glanely*, aged and unable to bear Arms, was roasted to Death by Captain *Gee* of Colonel *Craford's* Regiment, and in all the Marches in 41, 42, 43, the *English* Army killed all they met in this County, though no Murthers are charged on the said County, to be committed on *Protestants* by the Abstract.

In the Usurper's Time Captain *Barrington* garrisoned at *Arcklow*, murdered *Donnagh O Dayle* of *Killearrow*, and above five hundred more protected by himself; and it is well known that most of the Commonalty were murdered.

1650. Mr. *Birne* of *Munneg*, a Gentleman of an inoffensive Demeanour being then

in Protection, the Governor of *Carloe*, marched with a Party to this County; the said *Birne* came to him, and two of his Servants produced his Protection, notwithstanding which he and his two Servants were hanged, for no other Reason, than that the Gentleman had a great Stood of Horses and Mares, besides a good Stock of Cows, which were out of Hand seized on by the Governor and his Party.

County of *Kilkenny*.

1641. The *English* Soldiers of the Garrison of *Ballenekil*, burnt an old Woman of ninety Years old in her own House in *Idough*.

1642. The said Soldiers massacred a hundred eighty Men, Women and Children, who were cutting their Corn near the said Garrison. They dragged Mr. *Thomas Sbee*, an innocent Person, out of his own House with five of his Servants, and hanged them all at *Ballenekil*.

1650. Colonel *Daniel Axtel* cut off the Head of Mr. *Fitz Gerret* of *Browneiford's* Son, and hanged the Sons of Mr. *Butler* of *Ballikify*, and Mr. *Butler* of *Bonid's-town*, because their Fathers inlisted themselves in his Majesty's Army.

One *Francis Frisby*, an *Englishman* and a Protestant, Butler to the Duke of *Ormond*,

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having

having had Quarter upon the Rendition of *Kilkenny* to *Cromwell*, was apprehended by the said Colonel *Axtel*, and for not confessing his Lord's Plate, was tortured to Death by burning Matches between his Fingers, in the Castle of *Kilkenny*.

1651. Major *Shertel*, an Officer of his Majesty's Army having delivered the Castle of *Ballimay*, upon Quarter of Life and Liberty to Colonel *Axtel*, was run through the Body by the said Colonel, and all his Soldiers to the Number of one hundred and ninety were killed.

1651. Captain *Thomas Shertel*, a Captain of Horse in his Majesty's Army, coming to *Kilkenny* upon a safe Conduct, was hang'd by the said *Axtel*, because he had a good Estate within two Miles of *Kilkenny*.

1650. Colonel *Axtel* hanged fifty of the Inhabitants near *Thomas-town*, living under his Protection, for no other Reason, but that a Party of *Cromwell's* Army was defeated the Day before in that Place, by some of the Royalists.

Colonel *Axtel* meeting one Day forty Men, Women and Children, near the Wood of *Kildonan*, who were coming for greater Security to live within his Quarters, caused them all to be killed,

Some Soldiers of the King's Army being taken in a Village in *Grace's* Parish, Colonel *Axtel* caused all the Inhabitants of the said

saïd Village to be apprehended, hanged three of them, and sold the rest to the *Barbadoes*.

1650. The saïd *Axtel* (as matter of Recreation) commanded his Troops to gather together a great Number of the protected People near *Kilkenny*, and being all in a Cluster, bid the Troopers rush through them, and to kill as many as happened on the left Hand of the Troop, and to spare the rest, thirty Persons were murthered then on that Account.

County of *Wexford*.

1651. Colonel *Cook* in one March out of *Iniscorphy* into the Baronies of *Ballaghkene* and *Gowry*, murthered a hundred poor Labourers in Protection, and five hundred Women and Children, whom he caused to be lock'd up in their own Houses, commanding his Soldiers to set fire unto them, and one Woman having escaped out of a House, was killed, and her Belly barbarously ripp'd up, others thrust their sucking Babes out of the Windows, hoping that their Innocency might beget Pity in the Soldiers, who by their Colonel's Command received the poor Infants upon the Heads of their Pikes, and thrust them back into the Fire.

1650, 1651. The saïd Colonel *Cook* in his several Marches into the Baronies of

Bellaghkene and *Sharawalsb*, murdered upwards of three hundred Men, Women and Children under Protection, yet the Wife and Children of this *Cook* (notwithstanding all his barbarous Cruelties committed against the King's Subjects, and having always eminently appeared against his Majesty and his Royal Father) have been so well befriended, as to be provided for by special Name in his Majesty's Declaration for the Settlement of *Ireland*.

1650, 1651. Captain *Thomas Barrington* murdered no less than three hundred Men, Women and Children under Protection, in the Baronies of *Gowry* and *Bellaghkene*.

1650. The said *Barrington* killed fifty Women and Children at a Place called *Layen*; he was so noted through *Cromwell's* Army for his Cruelty, that they called him *Barrington* kill all.

The above Colonel *Cook* caused twenty two of Sir *Waltar Dongan's* Men, taken at the Fight at *Clonigal*, to be killed after Quarter given, and one Captain *Birne* of his Majesty's Army wounded in the Fight, and much made of by some of *Cook's* Men, who took him Prisoner, was soon after stript and killed.

Major *Thomas Hart* forced a Country Fellow under Protection to leap into the River *Bana*, and took Pleasure to see him drowned.

1650.

1650. Captain *William Bolton* of Colonel *Pretty's* Regiment, slaughtered about two hundred and fifty Men, Women and Children under Protection, in the said Baronies of *Skarawalsb, Bellaghkene, Bantry* and *Gillmalere*.

1650. The said *Bolton* gave Quarter at *Castle Kirk* to nine Soldiers, who after delivering their Arms were slaughtered by his Order.

1650. Mr. *Pierse Butler*, eldest Son to the Lord of *Galmoy*, and Captain of Horse in his Majesty's Army, being taken Prisoner in the Fight at *Lamps-town*, was killed in cold Blood, and after Quarter by the said *Bolton*.

1651. The said *Bolton* hanged *Pierse Doran*, who collected his Contribution, at his own Door, and one of his Servants to keep him Company.

1651. *Nicholas Lenagh*, a Man known to be frantick, was killed in his own House, by the said *Bolton's* Orders.

Daniel Birne and *Morogh Redmond* were murdered in their Houses by Captain *Barrington*, they being in Protection, and Collectors of the Contribution.

1651. Colonel *Pretty* meeting one Day upon the Road with Mr. *Phillip Hill*, a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, and his Collector in the Barony *Bellaghkene*, hanged him on the next Tree.

A P P E N D I X.

Notwithstanding all those Murthers and Massacres acted upon the Inhabitants of this County, it is observable that by the late Pamphlet, and all the Papers that have been published on that Subject, they could not say one *Englishman* was murdered in that County, since the Rebellion.

County of *Tipperary*.

1641. On the 24th of *October*, one *Brown* and Captain *Peasely* murdered eleven Men, Women and Children, in their own Houses at *Golden Bridge*, before any of the Catholics took up Arms in that County.

About the same Time the said Captain *Peasely* going through *Cloneulty*, *Philip Ryan* a peaceable Gentleman, and Owner of the said Town, came out of his House to salute the Captain, who pulled out his Pistol and shot the poor harmless Gentleman dead at his own Door.

Note, That these two Murthers occasioned the Rising of the Gentry and Inhabitants of that County.

1641. One *John Wise* of *Balliowen*, an *English* Soldier, came several Times in Woman's Attire upon the Road, and committed divers Murders upon simple Country People coming from the Market.

1649. A Soldier of *Cromwell's* being killed by some of the *Irish* Army, Colonel
Jeremy

Jeremy Sankey summoned all the Inhabitants of the Parish wherein he was killed, being under his Protection, to come to *Fethered*, where he put them to the Dice, and hanged five of them.

One Lieutenant *Mac Gragh* of his Majesty's Army, being taken Prisoner by Captain *John Godfrey*, was five Days after hanged in the Town of *Fethered* by Colonel *Sankey*, notwithstanding the said *Godfrey's* Protection to have given him Quarter.

1652. Seventeen poor Women and Children in Protection, were murdered at *Tulow*, by Major *Elias Green* and his Party, and one of the Troopers refusing to kill a Woman big with Child, by Name *Elizabeth Cugly*, was wounded by the said Major, who thrust his own Sword through the Woman's Bowels.

Within a while after, thirty Women and Boys, ready to starve, and digging of Patatoes in their own Gardens in the said Village of *Tulow*, were all killed by Orders of the said Major *Green*.

1649. Captain *Cantuel*, and Captain *Fitz Gerald* of his Majesty's Army, were tied to a Tree, and shot to death by some Officers of *Cromwell's* Army after Quarter given.

1651. Colonel *Richards* hanged *Edward Mockler*, a protected Person, and also a

Woman big with a Child, saying, He did it least she should be delivered of a Traytor.

Major *Bolton*, killed, in the Highway near *Thurles*, one *Philip Pursel*, an honest Gentleman in Protection.

Major *William Moor*, murdered, upon the Highway near *Thurles*, a Servant of Mr. *John Bryan's*, carrying Provision to the Lady of *Thurles*.

1651. *Morish English*, a Gentleman in Protection, was dragg'd out of his own House by the said Captain *John Godfrey*, and brought to *Cahirr* where he was hanged next Day.

1651. Sixteen Soldiers of his Majesty's Army, taken Prisoners by Colonel *Abott's* Troops near *Nenagh*, were all killed by them after Quarter given.

1651. One *Moran*, a Soldier, after Quarter promised, was by Colonel *Abott's* Command hanged three Hours by the Heels from the Battlement of the Castle of *Nenagh*, and next Day hanged by the Neck until he died.

1651. Some of *Abott's* Troops having brought a Labourer out of Mr. *Grace* of *Clgh Priory* his House, to shew them the Way, cut off his Head within a Musket-shot to the House.

Two Labourers thrashing of Corn in *Ballinanan* were killed by Captain *Barker*.

In

In the Year 1650. *David Walsh*, Esq; about eighty Years old, was murdered by Major *Morgan*, now Sir *Anthony Morgan*, in the Road between *Clonmel* and *Waterford*; and one of the said *David's* Daughters, endeavouring to preserve her Father, was murdered over him; and a Grandchild of the said *David's*, seven Years of Age, then in the Company, was murdered by the said Sir *Anthony's* own Hands.

The Troopers having absolutely refused to kill him; and several others of the said *David's* Kindred were murdered, for no other Cause, but that his Children and Relations were active in defending *Clonmel* for his Majesty against *Cromwell*; and for his Son *John Walsh*, Esq; his attending on the Lord Lieutenant in order to his Majesty's Service.

No less than five hundred poor Labourers and Women were hang'd at *Clonmel*, and other Garrisons in this County, guilty of no other Crime, but being found within the imaginary Lines, drawn by the Governors of the several Garrisons in the said County.

A Woman big with Child, having in Presence of all the People the Child stirring in her Womb, was hang'd by Colonel *Richards* at *Clonmel*.

County

County of *Clare*.

1644. Forty Families, in Protection, were murdered by the Garrisons of *Inchicronan*.

1646. Several residing near *Bunratty*, were murdered by the Soldiers of that Garrison, under Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Adams*.

1651. Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Col. *Ingoldsby*, commanding two Parties into the Barony of *Bueren*, then under Protection, kill'd in one Day, upwards of eight hundred Men, Women and Children; and meeting 'Squire *Donogh O Bryan*, an aged Gentleman, and protected by the said *Waller*, they lock'd him up in a Country-house, to which they set fire, and burnt him to death.

1651. The said Colonel's Troop of Dragoons murdered, in the Town of *Quenne*, thirty aged and poor Persons.

1651. The said *Ingoldsby*, after giving Quarter to nine Soldiers of his Majesty's Army, and a Week's Imprisonment, hang'd them.

1651. The said *Ingoldsby's* Men kill'd about a thousand poor Labourers, Women and Children, in the Baronies of *Corckromroe* and *Inchiquin*, being all under his Protection. Captain *Puerefoy*, and other Officers, commanded by the said *Ingoldsby*,
mur-

murthered upward of a hundred Men, Women and Children, in the Baronies of *Bunratty* and *Tullagh*, protected by the said Colonel.

Captain *Stase*, and Captain *Apers*, under the Command of the said *Ingoldsby*, murther'd no less than five hundred Families, in Protection in the Baronies of Island *I Brackane Cluandarala* and *Moyfarta*.

1651. The said *Ingoldsby's* Men, when they were surfeited of killing, made it an ordinary Practice to bridle the poor People, Men and Women, to tie them to their Horses Tails, like Beasts, and sell them to the *Barbadoes*.

County of *Lymerick*.

Anno 1651. The said Colonel *Ingoldsby* being one Day with a Party in the Territory of *Cleanlish*, slaughtered upward of five hundred Men, Women and Children, all under his Protection.

1651. The said *Ingoldsby*, and his Dragoons, murthered in one Day about three hundred protected Persons, in the Territory of *Tullagh-hill*.

County of *Kiery*.

1653. The Inhabitants of the Barony of *Dunkueren*, being ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel

Colonel *Nelson*, then Governor of the County for *Cromwell*, to remove with their Goods and Cattle, for their greater Security, were met by the said *Nelson*, Major *Peppard*, Captain *Thomas Barrington*, Captain *Hasset*, and other Officers, with a Party of Horse, and under Colour to secure their Removal; and on a sudden, upon a Sign given, the Soldiers fell upon the poor People, and killed upwards of three hundred Men, Women and Children: The Cruelty of *Barrington* and *Hasset* in that Massacre was remarkable, causing many Women to be shamefully stripp'd naked, and afterwards most inhumanly butcher'd; the Fingers of such as wore Rings to be cut off, and the Babes and Infants to be toss'd on Pikes and Halberts, in Sight of their dying Parents.

1653. The said *Nelson* having granted his Protection under Hand and Seal to *Tecig Morcarty* and *Conor Mac Donagh*, Catholic Priests, until their Transportation for *Flanders*, by a Time limited; before half that Time was expir'd, apprehended the said Priests, and hang'd them with their Protection in their Hands.

1653. The said *Nelson*, and Captain *Peter Cary*, meeting with one *Thomas O Bryne*, a Butcher by Trade, hang'd him for being sometime a Lay-Fryar.

Many

Many hundreds of the poor People of that County, reduced by the Exaction and Cruelty of their Governors to a starving Condition, were by *Nelson's* Orders, for smelling of Horse-Flesh, which they were necessitated to eat or starve, hang'd.

1653. Captain *Thomas Barrington*, afore-said, caused the Arm of a poor Woman to be cut off with a Hatchet; and perceiving that she grasp'd with the other Hand a sucking Babe, she had at her Breast, he caused that Arm to be also cut off, and the Infant's Head dash'd against a Rock, in her Presence.

The said *Barrington*, caus'd a Lieutenant and some Soldiers of his Majesty's Army, taken Prisoners upon Quarter, to be stripp'd naked, and their Brains knock'd out with a Hatchet.

County of *Cork*.

Anno 1641. In *Condon's* Country, above three hundred Labourers, Women and Children, were murther'd by some of the now Earl of *Orrory's* Soldiers.

In the said County, amongst others, they gelded one *Dennis Downey*, and pull'd out one of his Eyes, and sent him in that Posture to his Wife.

Anno 1641. Fifty six Persons, or thereabouts, were brought Prisoners to *Castle Lyons*

Lyons (most of them Labourers, who did never bear Arms) were put into a Stable, and the Women in that Garrison at Night fired their Beards and the Hair of their Heads, which so disfigur'd them, and burnt them, that their nearest Friends could not know them next Day, when they were hanging.

Anno 1642. In the same County, three hundred fifty five Persons, Men, Women and Children, were murdered with Clubs and Stones, being in Protection.

Anno 1642. Mr. *Henly*, an *English* Gentleman, dwelling in *Roche's* Country, but a *Roman* Catholick, had his Wife and Children barbarously stripp'd, and most of his Tenants inhumanly murdered by adjacent *English* Garrisons; he, the said *Henly*, nor his Tenants, being never in Arms; and such Cruelty was used, that they stabb'd young Infants, and left them so half dead on their Mothers dead Carcasses. In the said *Henly's* Town, and in the adjacent Villages, at that Time there were murdered about nine hundred Labourers, Women and Children.

Anno 1643. *Cloglegh* being Garrisoned by the *Irish*, and surrendered upon Quarter of Life, to Sir *Charles Vavasor*, were all inhumanly murdered, and the Hearts of some of them pull'd out and put into their Mouths; and many other Massacres were com-

committed the same Time there on Women and Children.

Anno 1643. At *Lislee*, twenty four Men in Protection, were murdered by Colonel *Mynn's* Soldiers.

At *Beallauere*, the same Year, *Teig O Mungan* and *David Broge*, blowing by Command into Pistols, were shot to Death by some of Captain *Bridge's* Men; and eight poor Labourers more were killed by them being in Protection, and then employed in saving some Harvest of *English*.

Anno 1642. At *Clogbeilty*, about two hundred thirty eight Men, Women and Children were murdered, of which Number, seventeen Children were taken by the Legs, by Soldiers, who knock'd out their Brains against the Walls; this was done by *Phorbis's* Men, and the Garrison of *Bandon Bridge*.

At *Garranne*, 'near *Rofs*, *Conor Kinedy*, who had Protection for himself and his Tenants, to save their Harvest, were murdered by the said Garrison of *Rofs*, as they were ditching about their Corn.

Anno 1641. At *Bandon Bridge* the Garrison there, tied eighty eight *Irishmen* of the said Town Back to Back, and threw them off the Bridge into the River, where they were all drown'd.

Anno 1650. At *Shiell*, there were forty Labourers, with Women and Children

put on the Edge of a great *Clift* over the Sea, a Rope being drawn about them, with six Soldiers on each End, and so thrown into the Sea and drowned. This was done by Major *Wallis* and his Party, who about the same Time murdered in the West of *Carbery*, upwards of eight hundred Men, Women and Children.

Anno 1641. Patrick Hacket, Master of a Ship in *Waterford*; the Dutcheſs of *Ormond* being deſirous to be convey'd by him to *Dublin*, after leaving her ſafe with her Family and Goods there, the Lords Juſtices and the Duke of *Ormond* gave him a Paſs for his ſafe Return; who being driven by a Storm into *Dungarvan*, the ſaid Maſter and all his Men were hanged by Direction of the Commander in Chief there, notwithstanding he produced his ſaid Paſs.

Anno 1647. Sir Alexander Mac Donnel, a known eminent Servitor to his late Maſteſty in the Wars of *Scotland*, was murdered by Major *Purdome*, after Quarter.

Anno 1651. Charles Mac Carty of *Kilmydy*, being in a Party with Colonel *Phayre* at the Gate of his Caſtle; Colonel *Ingoldsby* rides up to the Gate with a ſpan'd Piſtol, and ſhot him dead; at which Action the ſaid *Phayre* was much diſſatisfied, being Commander in Chief of that Party.

Anno 1641. The Engliſh Party of this County, burn'd O *Sulevan Bear's* Houſe in
Bantry,

Bantry, and all the rest of that Country, killing Man, Woman and Child, turning many into their Houses then on fire to be burnt therein, and amongst others, *Thomas de Bucke* a Cooper about eighty Years old, and his Wife being little less; and all this was done without Provocation, the said *O Sulevan* being a known Reliever of the *English* in that Country. Observe that this County is not charged in the late Abstract with any Murthers.

County of *Waterford*.

Anno 1641. In *Decy's* Country the neighbouring *English* Garrisons of the County of *Cork*, after burning and pillaging all that Country, they murdered above three thousand Persons, Men, Women and Children, before any Rebellion began in *Munster*, and led a hundred Labourers Prisoners to *Caperguine*, where being tied by Couples were cast into the River, and made Sport to see them drowned. Observe that this County is not charged with any Murthers to be committed on *Protestants*.



*The Information of the Mar-
ques of Antrim.*

MY Lord of *Antrim*, by Letters, earnestly pressing to a Conference with us, whose Names are under-written, being then at the Camp of *Killaban* in the County of *Meath*, there was a Meeting with his Lordship assented unto, and accordingly we this Day, being the 9th of *May* 1650, met him at *Miltown* between *Killaban* and *Killeban* in the said County, where and when amongst other Discourses, and particularly concerning a Commission, supposed to have been by the late King given to the *Irish* for their rising and acting, as they have done in *Ireland* on the 23d of *October* 1641, and after he the said Lord of *Antrim* said, *That he knew nothing of any such Commission*, but that the late King before the said Rising of the *Irish* in *Ireland*, sent one *Thomas Bourk*, Kinsman to the Earl of *Clanrickard*, to the Lord of *Ormond*, and to him the Lord of *Antrim*, with a Message, That it was the King's Pleasure and Command, that those
eight

eight thousand Men raised by the Earl of *Strafford* in *Ireland*, should be continued without disbanding, and that they should be made up twenty thousand, and that they should be armed out of the Store of *Dublin*, and imployed against the Parliament; and particularly that the Castle of *Dublin* should be surprized and secured: Which the said Lord of *Antrim's* Discourse, in Substance aforesaid, was delivered at the Time and Place before mentioned, in the Presence of us,

Signed,

John Reynolds,
Henry Clogher.

The 11th of *May* 1650, another Meeting was given by us under-named, to the Lord of *Antrim* at the aforesaid Place, when and where amongst other Discourses, and in Pursuance of that formerly by his Lordship delivered, of the King's Instructions concerning the rising of the *Irish* in *Ireland*, the Lord of *Antrim* further added, That the Letters of Credence by the late King to *Thomas Bourk* before mentioned were in Substance as followeth.

' *Thomas Bourk*, you are to repair to
' *Ormond* and *Antrim* in *Ireland*, who are

B b 2

' to

‘ to give Credit to what you are to say
 ‘ to them from Us.

C. R.

Which Letter of Credit being by the said *Bourk* shewed to *Ormond*, and to him the Lord of *Antrim*, he the said *Bourk* declared the King's Pleasure concerning the said eight thousand Men, and what is before particularly mentioned in his Lordship's Discourse on the 9th Instant, which we the Subscribers have read, the same in Substance being repeated to us by the Lord of *Antrim*.

The said Lord of *Antrim* further said in our Presence, That after the Declaration to the Lord of *Ormond*, and to him the Lord of *Antrim* made by the said *Bourk* of the King's Pleasure as aforesaid, they, the Lords of *Ormond* and *Antrim*, endeavoured a Meeting with each other for ordering Affairs accordingly; but there being (as they supposed) jealous Eyes over them, they could not for a Time compass it conveniently; he said that in the Parliament then sitting at *Dublin*, they would often take occasion to retire into the withdrawing Room, belonging to the Lords House of Parliament, in the Castle of *Dublin*, but being followed by others they had not their Conveniency for Discourse which they desired. That having appointed a Meeting

ing at the Bowling-Alley in the College-green in *Dublin*, they would there sometimes exchange some Words; but having at length gained a fit Opportunity for a Meeting, after some Debates, it was by them concluded, That present Dispatch should be made and sent to the King of that resolved on for his Service. *Ormond* asking *Antrim*, Whom he would employ in that Business to the King? He answered, that he would send the Lord *Macguire*: And I, said *Ormond*, will send over my Lord of *Muskerry*; and a Time being appointed for preparing the said Dispatches, they then parted; but after some Days *Ormond* again meeting with him, the Lord of *Antrim* told him that *Dublin* was no convenient Place for their Business, that therefore the Lord of *Ormond* would retire into the Country for preparing of the said Dispatches, desiring him, the Lord of *Antrim*, to meet him, at a Time appointed at *Kilka* in the County of *Kildare* belonging to the late Countess-Dowager of *Kildare*, whither *Ormond* said he would come on Pretence of a hawking Recreation, and that there they might discourse of all Things freely: That the Time of meeting drawing nigh, and the Lord of *Antrim* prepared for it, he was therein prevented by a Message from *Ormond*, wherewithal Colonel *John Barry* was sent, intimating that the

Lord of *Ormond* having considered of the Business, he conceived it convenient that one of them two should repair to the King immediately, rather than so great an Affair should be trusted by any other: That for himself he said, that being a Stranger at Court, his going thither could not be without Suspicion, but that he the Lord of *Antrim* might pass freely, earnestly desiring him to undertake the Work: But he the Lord of *Antrim* refused, saying, He would not go if *Ormond* would not go also; yet was the Lord of *Antrim*, by the pressing Solicitation of Colonel *Barry* aforesaid, persuaded to send some one from himself to the King, for intimating what was resolved for his Service, and signifying the already disbanding those eight thousand Men raised in *Ireland* by the Earl of *Strafford*. This Dispatch was sent by Captain *Digby*, Constable of the Castle of *Dunluce* in the North of *Ireland* belonging to the Lord of *Antrim*: With those Dispatches the said *Digby* did overtake the King at *York*, he being then on his Way to *Scotland*, and from *York* was *Digby* returned back to him the Lord of *Antrim* by the King, signifying his Pleasure, That all possible Endeavours should be taken for getting again together those eight thousand Men so disbanded; and that an Army should immediately be raised in *Ireland*, that should declare
for

for him against the Parliament of *England*, and to do what was therein necessary and convenient for his Service. Upon receiving this the King's Pleasure by Captain *Digby*, he the Lord of *Antrim* imparting the Design to the Lord of *Gormonstown*, and to the Lord of *Slane*, and after to many others in *Leinster*, and after going into *Ulster* he communicated the same to many there; but the Fools (such was his Lordship's Expression to us) well liking the Business, would not expect our Time or Manner for ordering the Work, but fell upon it without us, and sooner, and *otherwise* than we should have done, taking to themselves, and in their own Way, the Managing of the Work, and so spoiled it. It being by us demanded of his Lordship, how he intended it should be managed? He answered, That the Castle of *Dublin* being then to be surprized, if the Lords Justices should oppose the Design, the Parliament then sitting should declare for the King against the Parliament of *England*, and that the whole Kingdom should be raised for the King's Service; and that if the Lords Justices would not join in the Work, they should be secured, and all others who would or might oppose them should be also secured. Which Discourse was freely made by his Lordship without any Caution given us therein of Secrecy; yet was it

demande by us, Whether his Lordship would give us leave to have the same signified to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to the Lord President of *Munster*? His Lordship answered, That he gave us free Liberty so to do, which his Lordship's Discourse, we have for our better Remembrance reduced to Writing, and testified the same under our Hands, to be as aforesaid.

Signed,

Henry Clogher,
Henry Owen.

Having seen and read this Paper containing the Particulars of a Conference between Me and the Lord of *Clogher*, and Colonel *Reynolds*, and between me and the said Lord of *Clogher*, and Mr. *Henry Owen*, I do hereby acknowledge it to be the same in Substance with what passed, excepting where it is said, that Captain *Digby* was by the late King returned with a Dispatch to me, whereas the Dispatch was sent to me from the King by one *William Humerstone*: And whereas it is said, that the said late King appointed, that the Army with us to be continued and raised in *Ireland*, should be employed against the Parliament; it is to be intended, *if occasion should*

should be for so doing. And I do hereby
aver the Truth of all so delivered, with
the other Corrections and Qualifications
thereunto added: Witness my Hand this
August the 22d, 1650.

ANTRIM.



*Observations on the Marquess
of Antrim's Information.*

FIRST, it expressly clears the King
from giving any Commission for the
Irish Rebellion, nor is there any Thing in
it that can charge his Majesty with the
least Thought or Intention, that his *Pro-*
testant Subjects in *Ireland* should be either
plundered or murdered; nevertheless when
an unthinking Reader finds, that the Castle
of *Dublin* was to be surprized, he runs a-
way with the Notion, that the *Irish* Conspi-
racy was pursuant to that Order, and the
King was in the Bottom of that barbarous
Rebellion: And this perhaps was one De-
sign of this Information; but the chief End
of it was to abuse the World with a Belief,
that

that the King was not necessitated to a War with the Parliament by any Thing then newly happened in 1642, but that he projected it long before, and had made this Preparation to put it in Execution.

Secondly, This Information cannot be true, but either *Antrim* deceived the World, or *Bourk* imposed upon him; for besides that *Ormond* and *Antrim* was unfit to be joined in a Commission, as well because there was never any good Understanding between them, as also because they were of different Religions and Interests; how much more obvious, and easy, less scandalous and more effectual would it have been for the King to have made *Ormond* Lord Deputy, than to order him to surprize the Castle and the Lords Justices?

Moreover, these twelve thousand additional Men, could not have been raised without Noise and Time, nor kept without Money, nor armed at all, for there were not twelve thousand Arms in the Store, 23d *Octob.* and yet eight thousand of them were the Arms of the disbanded Men, which they were to keep on Foot.

But it is yet more strange, that before any Breach with the Parliament, and whilst Matters tended to an Accommodation more hopefully than in some Months before,

fore, the King should by such a rash and imprudent Action administer such a Cause of Jealousy to the Parliament at so unseasonable a Time, whilst he was absent in *Scotland*, as would certainly put the Kingdom of *England* in a Flame, and lose his Majesty the Hearts and Hands of more *English* Cavaliers, than he could gain of *Irish* Men.

But to put this Matter out of doubt, the King long before he went to *York* (which was in the Middle of *August*) knew the *Irish* Army would be disbanded, and therefore consented to license four Regiments to be levied out of them for the Service of the King of *Spain*, as appears by the following Letter copied from the Original.

ORMOND,

I Have taken this Occasion by the recommending the Son of one of my faithful Servants, to assure you that I very much esteem you, and that I do but seek an Occasion to shew it you by more than Words, as I commanded the Vice-Treasurer to tell you more fully, and in particular concerning the Blue Ribband, of which you may be confident; only I desire you not to take any Notice of it until I shall think it fit. The Particular for this Bearer, George Porter, is to permit him to make up a Regiment of this disbanded

ed Army, if he can do it by Persuasion, to carry them out of the Country for the King of Spain's Service; this is all: So I rest,

Whitehall, *the*
19th of June
1641.

Your assured Friend,

CHARLES R.

Moreover, how much the King was surprized with the *Irish* Rebellion, will also appear in his Letter to the Marquess of *Ormond*, whom *Antrim* himself confesses to be a Trustee, and therefore we may be sure the King wrote sincerely to him.

ORMOND,

THough I am sorry for this Occasion I have to send unto you, which is the sudden and unexpected Rebellion of a great and considerable Part of Ireland, yet I am glad to have so faithful and able a Servant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in so Important a Business: This is therefore to desire you to accept that Charge over this, which you lately had over the former Army, the which though ye may have some Reason to excuse (as not being so well acquainted with this Lord Lieutenant as you was with the last) yet I am confident that my Desire, and the Importance of the Business, will easily overcome that Difficulty, which laid aside for my
sake

sake, I shall accept as a great renewed Testimony of that Affection which I know you have to my Service: So referring what I have else to say to Captain Weem's Relation, I rest

Edinb. 31.
Oct. 1641.

Your most assured Friend,

CHARLES R.

Lastly, The Credential which Bourk had was not until the 8th Day of February, 1641. And that the Reader may see the Bottom of this Intrigue, I have added it verbatim, copied from the Original.

ORMOND,

B*eing well satisfied of the Fidelity of this Bearer, Mr. Bourk, I have thought fit not only to recommend him to you, but also to tell you, that I have commanded him to impart to you, what I have not Time to write, which, I think, will much conduce to the reducing of the Rebels; which I know none desires more than yourself; and so I rest*

Windsor, Feb.
8, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Your most assured Friend,

CHARLES R.

F I N I S.

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